

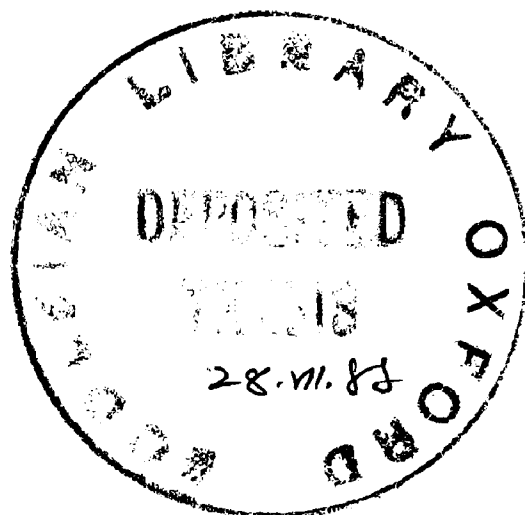
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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE MAEANDER
REGION OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR ON THE EVE OF THE
TURKISH INVASION

by

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SHORT ABSTRACT

The thesis is a contribution to two of the crucial problems of middle Byzantine history: the social and political structure of the provinces, and the explanation of the rapid fall of Asia Minor to the Turks at the end of the 11th century. These problems are approached through a study of the Maeander region of western Asia Minor.

Part one describes the geography of the region and shows it to have been a naturally fertile area, of great potential importance to the Empire. In the Roman period it had been very prosperous; the subsequent decline cannot be explained by geological or climatic factors.

Part two surveys the archaeological evidence. The ancient city sites remained occupied at a sometimes very low cultural level through the early (7th -8th century) and middle (9th-11th century) Byzantine periods. A general move of settlements to apparently more secure sites with natural defences did not take place until the 12th-13th centuries in the face of the Turks. Up to the end of the 11th century the city sites remained the focus of what was most active in the provincial society of the Maeander region.

Part three looks at the region's elites. The strategoi and

judges who ruled the theme of the Thrakesioi, which makes up the western two-thirds of the region, were outsiders appointed by the Imperial government in Constantinople and only in the region on short term appointments. Several major figures at the Imperial court owned land in the region but only as absentee landlords. When crisis came between 1071 and 1080 these outsiders abandoned the Maeander to the Turks. The church played an important role, but the resident local elite were a comparatively humble group, isolated from Constantinople, and lacking the influence to force the Imperial government into defending their interests.

LONG ABSTRACT

Social and political structures of the Maeander region of western Asia Minor on the eve of the Turkish invasions.

Two of the major problems which any Byzantine historian must consider are first the nature of society in the provinces, and second the reasons for the rapid collapse of Byzantine Asia Minor to the Turks at the end of the 11th century.

The first is important because during the 7th to 11th centuries Byzantium was a large territorial Empire controlling the greater part of Asia Minor as well as extensive areas of the Balkans and southern Italy. Most of the surviving evidence familiar to historians tends to focus on Constantinople and the Imperial court. Indeed the modern use of the adjective byzantine to refer to particularly devious court politics underlines how one aspect of Byzantine life has coloured the image of an entire culture. However dominant Constantinople may have been, the city was only a tiny area of an Empire which stretched from Armenia to the Adriatic; and its population, however privileged, was a minority among the peoples of the provinces. The latter as sources of manpower, revenue, food and materials were vital to the Empire's existence; and the nature of the Byzantine state was shaped by the relationship between the provinces and Constantinople. A history of Byzantium

1. C. CAHEN, 'La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure (seconde moitié du XI^e siècle)', B XVIII (1948) 5-67; IDEM, Pre-Ottoman Turkey London (1968) 1-109.
2. W. C. BRICE, 'The Turkish colonisation of Anatolia', Bulletin of John Ryland's Library XXXVIII (1955) 18-44.
3. G. DAGRON, 'Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'orient byzantin à la fin du Xe et au XI^e siècle: l'immigration syrien ', TM VI (1976) 177-216.
4. J. KODER, F. HILD, Hellas und Thessalia Vienna (1976); F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien Vienna (1981); P. SOUSTAL, Nikopolis und Kephallenia Vienna (1981); K. BELKE, Galtien und Lykaonien Vienna (1984).
5. A. BRYER, D. WINFIELD, The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos 2 vols., Washington (1985).

written wholly from a Constantinopolitan perspective is bound to be missing an essential part of its evidence. An understanding of the social and political structures of the provinces, and how they related to Constantinople and each other is a necessary goal of Byzantine studies.

The second problem leads from this in that the fall of Byzantine Asia Minor in the 1070s and early 1080s cannot simply be attributed to a single battle at Manzikert in 1071, the effeteness of the Byzantines, the feebleness of Michael VII, or even the universal superiority of mounted nomads over a settled population. Important studies, including those by C. Cahen,[1] W. Brice[2] and G. Dagron,[3] have clarified some of the issues, but an essential aspect must have lain in the structure of Byzantine provincial society. The fall of Byzantine Asia Minor was in large part a failure to defend itself, and such a failure is likely to have had its roots in how society throughout Anatolia and the surrounding mountains and coastal plains was organized.

Research has already moved from a pre-occupation with Constantinopolitan politics, and several distinguished provincial studies have appeared. In particular one should note the work of members of the Austrian academy on the Tabula Imperii Byzantini, of which so far four volumes have appeared,[4] and A. Bryer and D. Winfield's major study of the Pontos.[5] In both cases, however, these are archaeological, monumental and topographic

studies, and the social and political dimension has still to be provided. When that is done the events of the 1070s, as indeed of many other periods of Byzantine history, will become much more intelligible.

The Maeander region of western Asia Minor, defined as the valleys of the Maeander, Cayster and Hermos rivers with their surrounding mountains, is a particularly suitable area for exploring these issues. First, the region has a geographical coherence which marks it apart from its neighbours, but nonetheless it is sufficiently large to raise the topic above that of a narrow local history. Second, because about two-thirds of the region was recovered from the Turks in the late 1090s and for the most part remained in Byzantine hands until the beginning of the 14th century, a comparatively large body of evidence has survived. This includes Saints' Lives (of which those of St. Paul of Latros, St. Luke the stylite, St. Nikephoros of Miletos and St. Lazaros of mount Galesion stand out as of major importance), documentary materials from mount Latros, the Xerochoraphion, the Nea Moni on Chios and the monastery of St. John on Patmos, and the inscriptions on lead seals, in addition to the more familiar historical sources which contain a substantial number of references to events in the region.

The Maeander region is also well suited to such a study because from the 17th century onwards it was relatively open to western travellers and scholars, attracted first by trade and the

religious significance of the seven churches of Asia, and then increasingly by the fame of the region's Greek and Roman sites. The travellers' accounts are a valuable source for the region before roads, railways and drainage projects transformed the environment, but their antiquarian researches were also the impetus for the archaeological excavations which began at several sites in the late 19th and early 20th century. Today there are excavations in progress at Ephesos, Miletos, Sardis, Hierapolis, Didyma, Iasos and Aphrodisias. Several other sites received partial exploration in the past.

These projects were all begun by classical archaeologists and the remains of the Byzantine period have been treated with comparative neglect. Yet there has been more archaeology carried out in the Maeander region than in any other province of the Byzantine Empire. Even if the results to a Byzantine historian are somewhat disappointing, it is preferable to the near absence of excavation which is the familiar problem elsewhere.

In using this material I have tried to build on the seminal work of C. Foss. Even where I disagree or contradict his conclusions he deserves the credit for raising many of the issues and pointing to the evidence in the first place. His publications, in particular those on Sardis and Ephesos, marked a major step forward in Byzantine studies.

Part one of the thesis defines the Maeander region and

describes its geography. It also notes the climatic and geographical division between the lower Maeander region consisting of the valleys and adjacent hills of the lower Maeander itself, the Lykos, the Cayster and the Hermos, and the upper Maeander region, an intermediate zone between the coastal plains and the high Anatolian plateau, drained by the Maeander river system and separated from Anatolia to the east by the mountains of the Ak dağ and the Burgaz dağ. Both parts of the region contain extensive areas of fertile agricultural land, but in the lower Maeander this is an outstanding feature making it one of the major agricultural areas of the eastern mediterranean. As a result of the Maeander region was of great potential importance to any state that controlled it.

In the Roman period the Maeander supported a thriving urban culture which made the region one of the wealthiest and most developed parts of the Roman world. Since the 18th century the region has enjoyed similar prosperity, but during the Byzantine period the Maeander seems to have been poorer and of less importance. Since the Roman prosperity lasted until the end of the 6th century, the move of the Empire's capital from Rome to Constantinople offers no explanation. Similarly geological and climatic change are not a solution. Heavy erosion and siltation have always been a feature of region's great river valleys, and the process is still evident today. The climate may have altered in the late Roman/early Byzantine period, but in so far as the topic is accessible to a historian rather than a climatologist,

the changes seem not to have been on a scale to have major economic consequences. It follows that the rise and fall of the region's prosperity can only be explained in terms of social and economic developments. It also follows that archaeological evidence for the region's general level of prosperity will have a close relationship with other evidence for social and political structures. Both are necessary for an understanding of the region during the Byzantine period.

Part two of the thesis surveys the archaeological material. No written sources can replace this essential evidence. In particular Constantine Porphyrogenitos' De Thematibus and the list of the twenty cities of Asia that it contains is seriously misleading, and can serve as a warning of the some of the problems of Byzantine quellenkritik.

However the archaeology has strict limitations. There has been no rural archaeology or survey work; and excavation has with two small exceptions, at Sebaste in the Banaz ovası, and the Peçin kale south of Milâs, been confined to the sites of classical cities and temples. Until comparatively recently the medieval evidence tended to be destroyed without record. Even where it has been recorded the techniques used have been those appropriate to fairly substantial stone buildings. Since even until recently the common building materials were mud bricks sometimes with a wooden frame, and mud and wood rooves, it is quite probable that a great deal of Byzantine settlement has been

missed. The problem is compounded by the ignorance of Byzantine pottery types. Even the most obvious can only be dated within broad margins.

With these problems in mind I have reassessed the evidence available to Foss, looked at the results of recent excavations and sites that he did not examine, and spent several months over four years looking at cities, castles and other Byzantine settlement sites throughout the Maeander region. My conclusions would suggest a much more positive interpretation than Foss' published work would allow.

His rather gloomy picture is given particular force by the example of Sardis where it appeared that the city was abandoned in favour of a hill-top refuge castle. In fact it is clear that the castle was a major Imperial fortress built in the late 7th century at the height of Byzantium's struggle for survival against the Arabs. The evidence for Sardis itself suggests that it may have struggled on at a low cultural level still on its ancient site. In any case the acropolis castle is not an example of a changing settlement pattern in the early Byzantine period.

This pattern is repeated over the lower Maeander region as a whole. The ancient city sites seem to have remained the principal centres of population up to at least the end of the 11th century. There is no evidence for a move to more secure sites, nor for the establishment of a network of mountain refuges

where a dispersed population could find safety. On a remarkable number of ancient city sites there is evidence for occupation through the Byzantine period.

In the upper Maeander region there has been almost no excavation but several city sites may have been occupied. More important, it can be shown that whatever the population live, they had retreated to hill-top fortresses and they continued to farm the upper Maeander plains.

We are still in the early stages of understanding the Byzantine town, but the evidence surveyed here, showing the continuity of ancient city sites as central places through the Byzantine period up to the Turkish invasions, suggests they should be accorded an important role in provincial society. Compared to Roman cities or even to contemporary Constantinople they would have appeared underdeveloped. The physical remains are in general unimpressive, but that is a feature of many European towns at this period, and would be quite consistent with the Maeander towns as the seat of important members of the local elite.

Part three considers the role of the ecclesiastical and lay elites in the Maeander region. The role of the secular church, which is often underestimated, is discussed, but the main interest of this section concerns the lay elites.

The lower Maeander region fell entirely within the theme of the Thrakesioi, and made up the southern two-thirds of the theme, including those areas that were most fertile and populous. The upper Maeander was part of the theme of the Anatolikoi of which it formed about one fifth.

Up until at least the end of the 10th century the lower Maeander as part of the Thrakesioi was ruled by strategoi, the military governors of the themes. Recent work has revealed a more developed civil administration than has sometimes been described, but in the middle Byzantine period the strategos was nonetheless the overall governor of the region in matters of civil as well as military. From the late 10th century onwards his role was largely taken over by the judge who provided the theme with a civil governor. Neither of these positions was filled by local men. They were outsiders appointed in Constantinople as part of that political world centred on the Imperial court. They were in the theme for a few years before moving on to another province or taking up a post in the capital.

Others who were major political figures at the Imperial court owned land in the Maeander region, but they did not amount to a provincial aristocracy. There is no evidence to show any important political figure building up an interest in the lower Maeander which would then support his political position in Constantinople - indeed there is a significant body of evidence to the contrary. Land could be valuable in the Maeander but

there is nothing to suggest it was anything other than an economic asset and an appropriate investment for large court salaries.

The upper Maeander came under the authority of the strategoi and judges of the Anatolikoi who are outside the scope of this thesis. A number of important political families, prominent in the second half of the 11th century, such as that of Botaneiates, seem to have had their roots there. Yet in fact an analysis of the events which led to the loss of the region to the Turks suggests this was of little consequence in either Constantinopolitan or provincial politics.

In the 1070s Nikephoros Botaneiates was in the upper Maeander because he had been appointed doux of the Anatolikoi and the hostility of the Doukai made it convenient to stay in the theme. Eventually as the pressures of being cut off in the provinces grew, and the Doukas regime in Constantinople became weaker, Botaneiates left the region to seize the Imperial throne. It is a striking feature of these years that he had no interest in defending the upper Maeander against the Turks or in setting himself up as a semi-independent provincial ruler. In turn the region seems to have had little interest in him. Very few accompanied Botaneiates in his attempt on the Imperial throne, and were it not for Turkish support the expedition would have lacked all military credibility. The actions of Botaneiates suggest that in the upper Maeander as elsewhere in the region

there were wealthy absentee land-owners with no vital interests involved.

By contrast the resident local elite as revealed principally through Saints' Lives were a humble group of small land-owners, lesser officials, soldiers, ship-owners and churchmen. Within local society they could be influential but in comparison to the Constantinopolitan officials and generals who came to the region from outside they were poor and powerless.

This leads to two major conclusions. Firstly, that the Maeander region lacked a provincial aristocracy who could bind together the interests of the province and of Constantinople. (The church could not provide an alternative). This is an important factor which shaped provincial society and made it less able to unite in self-defence against the Turks. Secondly, the known Byzantine towns in the region were rather undeveloped places, but that should not indicate a lack of importance. It would be quite consistent with the status of wealth of that local elite who were resident in the Maeander and dominated its provincial society.

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A Note on Transcription

I have not aimed at absolute consistency but rather at what seemed natural to me. I feel the -us ending to be unnecessarily latinate - hence Ephesos and Lazaros; and in general I prefer a transcription close to the Greek, hence Botaneiates, Nikephoros and Skylitzes. However in some cases this leads only to a pedantic rejection of familiar forms, hence I have kept Comnenos, Laodicea, Cayster and Maeander. If the modern Turkish name of a town is close to the original and on the same site I have used that, hence Ankara and Kutahya.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	Archäologischer Anzeiger
<u>AB</u>	Analecta Bollandiana
<u>AS</u>	Acta Sanctorum/Anatolian Studies
<u>B</u>	Byzantion
<u>BAR</u>	British Archaeological Reports
<u>BASOR</u>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<u>BCH</u>	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique
<u>Byz.Slav.</u>	Byzantinoslavia
<u>BZ</u>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
DO	Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection
<u>DOP</u>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
<u>EEBS</u>	Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon
<u>EHR</u>	English Historical Review
EI	Encyclopedia of Islam
<u>EO</u>	Echos d'Orient
<u>EP</u>	Eggrapha Patmou
F	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Whittemore Seal Collection
<u>GRBS</u>	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
<u>HUS</u>	Harvard Ukrainian Studies
<u>IRAIK</u>	Izvestija Russkago Arkheologiceskago Instituta v Konstantinople
<u>Ist.Mitt.</u>	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
<u>JHS</u>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<u>JÖB</u>	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
<u>JRS</u>	Journal of Roman Studies
LAZAROS	'Vita S. Lazari'

<u>MAMA</u>	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
<u>MGH</u>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MM	Miklosich, F., MÜLLER, J.
NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS	'Vita S. Nicephori'
<u>OCP</u>	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
PAUL OF LATROS	'Vita S. Pauli Iunioris'
<u>PG</u>	Patrologia Graeca
<u>PP</u>	Past and Present
<u>RE</u>	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertums - Wissenschaft
<u>REB</u>	Revue des études byzantines
<u>REG</u>	Revue des études grecques
<u>RN</u>	Revue Numismatique
<u>TAD</u>	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
<u>TM</u>	Travaux et Memoires
<u>VV</u>	Vizantiiskii Vremmenik
<u>ZRVI</u>	Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta

PART ONE

GEOGRAPHY

1. G. WHEELER, A Journey into Greece London (1682) 237-9.
2. R. BRINKMANN, 'The Geology of Western Anatolia', in Geology and History of Turkey ed. A. S. Campbell, The Petroleum Exploration Society of Libya, 13th Annual Field Conference, Tripoli (1971) 171-90, esp. 171-2; J. H. BROWN et al., 'Outline of the Geology of the Western Taurids' ibid 225-56, esp. 227; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey (1942-3) I, 133-41.
3. c.f. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 133-5.

CHAPTER ONE The Maeander Region.

(i) The Geographical Region

In October 1675 George Wheler, later of Lincoln College and Dr. Jacob Spon of Lyon proceeded overland from Constantinople to Smyrna. From Bursa they had travelled south over the hills to Akhisar. As they crossed the Hermos and still more as they descended toward Smyrna itself they were aware that they had come into a different region of Asia Minor: more fertile, more prosperous and full of the remains of classical antiquity.[1]

They had arrived in the region known to modern geologists as the Menderes Massif, an enormous gneiss core still visible in the mountains but now broken by the two great valleys of the Hermos and Maeander rivers which cut down from the edge of the Anatolian plateau and run east-west into the Aegean sea.[2] Of only slightly less importance is the valley of the Cayster river which rises in the mountains within the core. Together these rivers have created three parallel alluvial plains reaching nearly 160 kilometres inland which are the region's outstanding physical feature. Separated by parallel mountain ranges, the arrangement can suggest the comparison with an outstretched hand placed palm down so that the back would represent the central Anatolian plateau and the fingers the mountain ranges extending westward to the sea.[3]

Within thirty miles of the Aegean coast tracts of plain are a mere 10 to 30 metres above sea level, and have only become dry land in historical times. The valleys rise slowly toward the

The Roman and Late Roman port of Ephesos seems to have been more active than Miletos but otherwise it followed a similar pattern and the middle ages saw the gradual rise of harbours lying to the south of the Cayster's encroaching silt. Of these the most important were Phygella, later known as Scala Nova and now the modern resort of Kusadasi, and Anaia, modern Kadi Kalesi. C. Foss Ephesus after Antiquity Cambridge (1979) 3, 58, 94, 106, 111, 119, 121-25, 149, 150 n. 31, 185-7. Phygella in particular was a major port up to the 19th century. It was only a combination of Ottoman prohibition and the development of a railway system focused on Smyrna which prevented the former becoming the region's main port and trading centre, F. W. HASLUCK, 'The Rise of Modern Smyrna' The Annual of the British School at Athens XXIII (1918-19) 146-7; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East and some other countries London (1745) II, 38, 44-5. Smyrna itself was unaffected by the threat of serious silting until the 19th century when the problem was solved by diverting the course of the Hermos, but set at the end of a long gulf it is not an ideal port for sailing vessels and several other harbours both north and south of the gulf were active in the medieval and modern periods, F. W. HASLUCK, op.cit. 138-47; H. AHRWEILER, Smyrne 48-55; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia London (1842) II, 4-5, 11, is simply one of a large number of travellers who have recorded the difficulties of getting in and out of the gulf of Smyrna before the age of the steamship.

4. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 199-211, 400-18; M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450 Cambridge (1985) 26-30.
5. W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor Royal Geographic Society Supplementary Papers IV, London (1890) 27f, 43f, 51f; D. FRENCH, 'The Roman Road - System of Asia Minor' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt VII/2 (1980) 698-729; many western travellers from the 17th century onwards used these routes but see in particular, J -B. TAVERNIER, The six voyages ... through Turkey into Persia trans. J. Phillips, London (1678) 36-8; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A visit to the Seven Churches of Asia London (1828) 205, 256; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure faite par ordre du Gouvernement Francais, de 1833 a 1837 3 vols. Paris (1839-49) III, 43.
6. J. ROUGE, Recherches sur l'Organisation du Commerce Maritime en Mediterranee sous l'Empire Romain Paris (1966) 85-93, 103, 129. The main ports of the region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods were Miletos, Ephesos and Smyrna, earlier rivals such as Priene and Myos having become silted up, D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor Princeton (1950) 73-7, infra . Already in the Roman period Miletos seems to have lost something of its earlier importance and was suffering problems from the Maeander silt, but dredging appears to have kept the harbour open and Miletos is attested as a port until the 15th century, D. MAGIE, op.cit. 117, 167, 882-3; L. ROBERT, 'Les Inscriptions' in Laodicee du Lycos, Le Nymphée ed. J. des Gagniers et al., Paris (1969) 346-51; A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palaestran Milet I/9, Berlin (1928) 169-171, nr 343; K. KRETSCHMER, Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters Berlin (1909) 395-6, 653; W. HEYD, Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-age Leipzig (1885-6) I, 544-6. Note also the probably 16th century nautical graffiti found on the walls of a Turkish bath dated between 1404 and 1410 in Miletos, K. WULZINGER, P. WITTEK, F. SARRE, Das Islamische Milet Milet III/4, Berlin (1935) 52-53; G. KLEINER, Die Ruinen von Milet Berlin (1968) 150. During the middle ages Miletos, known as Palatia, was supplemented and eventually replaced by a number of other harbours closer to the existing shoreline. One of these was Kepoi, or Chipso/Gippo as it appears in the portulans, which lay south of the mouth of the Maeander and was the intended place of embarkation for Michael III's abortive Cretan expedition of 866, A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 259-60; W. TOMASCHEK, Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe, CXXIV, Vienna (1891) 36. Other harbours in the same area are recorded in two 13th century Imperial prostaxeis which granted immunity from customs dues to the monastery of St. John on Patmos, EP I, 225-6, 232. The history and even location of these harbours remains obscure. A re-examination of the written sources in the light of a geographical and archaeological survey could do much to clarify this problem.

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east, but a hundred miles inland in the Lykos valley, which forms the eastern extension of the lower Maeander valley, the plain is still less than 170 metres above sea level. The effect of this physical feature has been to bring the mediterranean climate of hot dry summers and mild reasonably wet winters much further inland at this point than anywhere else in either Asia Minor or Greece. Around Smyrna the summer temperature averages over 30 C and there is minimal rainfall; in winter the temperature is very rarely below 7.5 C and the average is between 50 and 75 cms. of rain. At Denizli or Alasehir, near the eastern ends of the lower Maeander and Hermos valleys respectively, the temperature range and rainfall is very similar. By contrast, in southern Cappadocia, rather closer to the Mediterranean than Denizli or Alasehir but on the central Anatolian plateau and separated from the sea by the Taurus mountains, after the same hot dry summer comes a very cold winter with daytime temperatures averaging between -1 C and -7 C and over thirty snow days a year.[4]

The valleys also have the effect of channelling the route system along an east-west axis. The region has as a result become the focus of the historically most important routes from the central plateau to the Aegean coast.[5] From there easy sea routes link the valleys to the wider world. The silt bearing rivers which have created the great alluvial plains by their nature make for impermanent harbours regularly giving way to others as their ports are slowly turned into dry land, yet at a given moment the region's coast has never been short of adequate harbours.[6]

The mountains tend to reinforce the east-west axis, forming an effective but not impenetrable barrier throughout most of the

7. In both these areas and indeed all over the Mediterranean porous limestone is a common bed-rock. It weathers slowly and thus has a thin initial soil cover and a very slow rate of replacement, Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 136, 141; Admiralty Handbook: Greece I, 9f. ; C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe London (1979) 159, 161.
8. J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Parts of Europe, Asia Minor, The Islands of the Archipelago London (1759) I, 146-7. Edmund Chishull there twenty years earlier in 1699 had actually gone one better: "Mount Tmolus", he wrote, "may deservedly be termed the physic garden of the universe", E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey and back to England London (1744) 17-18. This is also where the 14th century Aydinoglu Emirs withdrew to escape the summer heats, The Travels of Ibn Battuta trans. H. A. R. Gibb, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge (1962) II, 439-42; infra 92 .
9. In August the contrast between the hot dry plain and the vegetation of a well-watered mountain village can be quite dramatic. Yesil, green, is in any case a term of praise commonly applied to cities or villages. Tire, for example, in the south west of the Cayster valley, calls itself Yesil Tire. To the north east on the other side of the Cayster valley in the mountains above Birgi is the village of Yilanli Koyu. There is an abundant source of water even in the height of summer and in August 1982 the fruit and vegetable crops and the general prospect fully justified the villagers' enthusiasm for their green village.

region. Major gaps allowing easy north-south movement do however exist. To the west a route leads over the pass through the hills between Manisa and Smyrna thence south via the Torbali plain, the plain of Ephesos on the Cayster and over an easy pass into the Lower Maeander near Söke. To the east between Alaşehir and Tripolis the valleys of the Hermos and the Maeander turn toward each other leaving a relatively easy pass over the dividing hills just beyond the head waters of the Cayster.

Together with the long alluvial valleys, the mountains derived from the gneiss core are one of the key geographical features of the region which marks it off from the areas beyond. The rock is non-porous and more easily weathered and hence preserves a more stable top soil than is common in Asia Minor or Greece: an advantage for the vegetation even in the face of heavy grazing.[7] More important however are the small basins of alluvium found throughout these mountains. An example is the small plain and lake found high on the Boz dag, half way between Sardis and Birgi. Its lush fertility moved Jan Van Egmont, there in the early 1720s, to write, "This chain of mountains may be justly termed the kitchen garden of lesser Asia; and I must own to have been so delighted with the rich variety it afforded of the vegetable kingdom, that I determined, if ever I embraced the hermetical life, to make this the place of my retirement." [8]

Van Egmont could have found many such potential hermitages within the Tmolos and Messogis ranges, many occupied today by villages proud of their greenness.[9] North and south of the gneiss region however the landscape rapidly changes. To the north of the Hermos the plain continues but the underlying rock is now

10. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey 136-41; J. H. BRUNN, 'Outline of the Geology of the Western Taurids' in Geology and History of Turkey ed. A. S. Campbell, 225-56; A. PHILIPPSON, 'Reisen und Forschungen in Westlichen Kleinasien', Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen Ergangungs heft, CLXXXIII (1915) 27-40; L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie Paris (1983) 1-25 ; IDEM, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure' BCH CII (1978) 481f; infra 130 .

limestone and the mountains are severely eroded bleak waterless places with a vegetation of stunted thornbushes offering sustenance only to the goats who further the general desolation. These mountains are, by contrast to the Tmolos and Messogis ranges, very thinly populated and still difficult of access in the 1980s. The gneiss massif extends south of the Maeander forming mountains with similar basins of alluvium to the northern ranges. The breadth of these southern ranges however makes them relatively inaccessible and has discouraged settlement so that the present population is small. Beyond the massif is an older belt of hard volcanic schists and marbles which curves toward the north west reaching the valley of the Maeander in the Beş Parmak dağ (Byzantine Mount Latros) which overlooks the Bafa Gölü. This belt of rocks forms the southern watershed of the Maeander river system. The hills contain small areas of fertile soil but they are often so isolated that it has been left to desert dwellers such as the monks of Mount Latros to make use of them. Otherwise their major use is for grazing. Beyond this belt in central Caria the underlying rock turns to limestone and granite. The hills are again unproductive and the plains basins of alluvium, isolated by mountains from each other and from the sea, are small in comparison with the great alluvial valleys to the north.[10]

Thus the geography and geology of this part of western Asia Minor make it possible to define a region distinct from the areas to the north and south. Similarly to the east there is a distinct change in landscape, geology and climate which marks the onset of a different region. Travelling east from the Hermos or lower Maeander valley one at once climbs a mountainous ridge rising to about 1400 metres before descending to one of two plains. From

- 11 See Turkiye, Harta Genel Mudurlugu, 1:200,000
(1940-50) F-III, F-IV; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I,
; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics I, 1-6,
122-3, 217-20, 235-7; II, 569-73; L. ROBERT,
'Philologie et Geographie' Anatolia IV (1959) =
Op.Min. III, 1425-37.
12. F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A visit to the Seven Churches of
Asia London (1828) 236, 248-51; W. HAMILTON,
Researches in Asia Minor I, 123: the cultivated
basins of red soil that he describes are
characteristic of eroded limestone land formations
throughout the mediterranean area, C. D. SMITH,
Western Mediterranean Europe 281-3.

the Hermos one reaches the more northerly Banaz ovası at 950 metres above sea level; from the Maeander one comes to the Baklan ovası lying to the south separated by a range of low hills at about 850 metres above sea level. Further south still, but at the same altitude, is the narrow plain which forms the eastern extension of the Lykos valley and is mostly filled by the bitter waters of the Acı Tüz Gölü.[11]

The underlying rock of these plains is limestone with various granite outcrops, but particularly in the Baklan ovası and around the Acı Tüz Gölü the base rock is well covered by alluvial soils. For the Baklan ovası this is again due to the Maeander river which rises above Dinar and flows through the plain before cutting an enormous gorge down to the lower valley to the west. Due to the river the soil is fertile and well watered and in some ways it can help to think of this plain as a version of the lower alluvial valley raised by some 700 metres. The Banaz ovası to the north is more evidently different. The landscape is harsher with the limestone closer to the surface and a greater preponderance of granite creating in parts a boulder and thorn covered moorland. The extra hundred metres above sea level is also significant since it encourages a steeper run on the rivers from the surrounding mountains so that especially to the south and west of the plain great canyons have developed. However there are still sufficient basins of alluvium to support a sizeable modern agricultural population.[12]

The climate of these plains is also distinguishable from that of the region to the west. The plains share the same hot dry summer with the mediterranean zone but it is followed by a colder

13. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 199-211, 400-18; see also M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 26-32.
14. I owe this information to the kindness and hospitality of B. Mehmet Kasik and other staff at the Ulubey Lisesi.
15. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 200, 210-11, 400-18.

and drier winter. At Uşak on the northern edge of the Banaz ovası the recorded rainfall in winter only averages 43 cms. and the average winter temperature is a mere three degrees above freezing point. Heavy and prolonged frosts are common.[13] The point is brought home by the small rooms and huge stoves of the modern Turkish houses in these plains which contrast with arrangements further to the west. Indeed a school teacher at Ulubey, 32 kilometres south of Uşak, complained that one of the principle disadvantages of his present post was the inevitably high heating bills.[14]

Yet were he to be moved further east on to the high central plateau of Anatolia his bills would be considerably worse, which points to an important further distinction. These plains form an intermediate zone between the mediterranean world of the great alluvial valleys and the Anatolian plateau to the east. Travelling east across these plains one comes to a further range of mountains, the Burgaz dağ facing the Banaz ovası and the Ak dağ facing the two plains to the south. This is the true mountain rim of the central plateau, rising to just short of 2,500 metres before descending to the plateau itself which is consistently over 1,000 metres above sea level. Just as the example of southern Cappadocia quoted above has shown, east of the Ak dağ the climate becomes progressively more extreme and closer to that of the central Asian steppes with very hot dry summers alternating with bitterly cold winters.[15]

These plains and the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü thus make up a definite region distinct from the alluvial plains and gneiss mountains of the Menderes massif but also distinct from the

16. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 198-9; L. ROBERT, 'Les Kordakia de Nicee, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies; sur les lettres d'un metropolite de Phrygie au Xe siecle; philologie et realites' Journal des Savants (1961) 115-62; L. ROBERT, A Travers l'Asie Mineure Bibliothèque des écoles Françaises d'Athens et de Rome CCXXXIX (1980) 155, 276, 286, 348.
Tezek: "As for its calorific qualities, one need only remember the old Turkish story, the punch-line of which begins: Tezek boktur ...", M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 140 n. 223.
17. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics II, 396-7, 569-73; see n. 5 supra.
18. e.g. M. F. HENDY 'Byzantium, 1081-1204: An Economic Reappraisal', TRHS XX (1970) 33-4; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor passim; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4, Vienna (1984) passim.

central plateau beyond. By comparison to the plateau in terms of landscape, geology and climate, this is an intermediate zone, and in the context of the geography of Asia Minor as a whole there are reasons to regard the distinction from the region to the west as less significant than the major break which occurs on reaching the edge of the central plateau.

In human and agricultural terms the region is joined to the alluvial valleys rather than to the plateau, as an area of wheat and fruit growing and potential winter grazing. Beyond the Ak dag the shorter growing season and the combination of hot dry summers and harsh winters seems to have encouraged the cultivation of barley rather than wheat. Trees become even scarcer and houses have traditionally been heated on dried dung (tezek) for want of another fuel.[16]

Similarly the river and route system tend to encourage links with the region to the west in contrast to the mountain barriers which obstruct travel further east. The region is crossed by two important routes from the coast to the central plateau - one leading from the Hermos via Uşak to Amorion, the other from the Maeander via Lykos to Dinar and beyond - but in both cases the routes have tended to bind the plains to the coast rather than to the plateau.[17]

Historians and geographers have tended either to see western Asia Minor as a whole or to divide it along the lines established by classical geography.[18] Neither approach is entirely satisfactory. Both tend to obscure the significance of geographical differences. The one because on that large scale the sole distinction that stands out is that with the central plateau;

19.

F. ROUGON, Smyrne, Situation commerciale et economique
Paris (1892) 69-70 et passim.

the other because the classical division of Ionia, Lydia, Caria and Phrygia have no geographical coherence. A notable exception is the report on the commercial and economic position of Smyrna published by F. Rougon in 1892. Rougon realised that to understand the city's wealth one had to look at the hinterland from which it drew its trade, and that that area included not only the alluvial plains and the green gneiss mountains but the higher plains of the Banaz and Baklan ovası as well. Only beyond the Ak dağ did trade and agriculture look to Antalya not to Smyrna for its outlet.[19]

The area of alluvial plains and adjacent mountains lying west of the central plateau and enjoying a mediterranean or semi-mediterranean climate can therefore be justifiably seen as a coherent geographical region and it will be regarded as such in this study. Its parts, particularly the upper plains and the lower valleys are distinct but they share more in common with each other than they do with the regions beyond.

The main physical features of the region which tie it together and give it form are the three great alluvial valleys of the Hermos, the Cayster and the Maeander. Of these by far the most important is the Maeander. Not only is it the largest and longest of the valleys which break the Menderes massif, but unlike the Hermos or the Cayster, its main channel rises on the edge of the central plateau and through its tributaries the Maeander drains the entire Banaz and Baklan ovası. Even the valley of the Acı Tuz Gölü is via the Lykos a part of the Maeander river system.

The Maeander has been one of the principle factors in creating the landscape and climatic conditions which distinguish

20.

Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 136; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern London (1797) 207; R. CHANDLER, Travels (1817) 119: "we found the surface [of Mount Galesion] bare, except for a few pines on one summit, beneath which some miserable cattle were standing, seemingly pinched with hunger, and ruminating on the wretchedness of their lot." In July 1982 the difficulties of exploring Galesion moved me to describe it in a note as "a gigantic heap of white breeze-block rubble held together by thorn bushes". However the particularly denuded modern state of this range is only of 19th century origin. In the 18th century the sides of the mountain were still covered with pine trees, R. CHANDLER, op.cit. 127. These seem to have been lost to increased felling in the second half of the 19th century, C. DE SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne Vienna (1873) 23, see n. 48 infra.

the upper plains from the central plateau and it is pre-eminent among the lower valleys. It therefore seems appropriate to call this region the Maeander region, and bearing in mind the distinction between the areas above and below the great gorge bringing the river from the high plains to the lower valley, it is natural to distinguish between the Upper Maeander region, consisting of the Banaz and Baklan ovası and the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü, and the Lower Maeander, consisting of the alluvial valley and the adjacent mountains.

The definition of the Upper Maeander makes easy geographical sense looking at the map and requires no further comment. That of the Lower Maeander region is less geographically determined and decisions as to its exact boundaries have to be made on historical grounds. For example if one includes the belt of mountains on the south side of the Maeander as distinct from the mountains of central Caria, taking as the approximate limit the southern watershed of the Maeander tributaries, then it is difficult to exclude the plain of Milas lying south of the Maeander beyond the watershed but next to Mount Latros and an integral part of that mountain's economy. Similarly the great limestone massif of Mount Galesion between Smyrna and Ephesos is something of an intruder into the region, being in geological terms an outlier of the bleak limestone ranges to the north.[20] In both these cases historical convenience and personal knowledge have led to their inclusion. However the Aegean islands close to the coast, such as Samos and Chios, are by their nature part of a different geographical and historical zone and can be disregarded.

21. R. ROUGON, Smyrne 69-134; C. DE SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne 10-12, 16-23; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey II, 131-44. c.f. C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe 192-226.
22. Admiralty Handbook
23. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey II, 135-7; O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique Paris (1877-85) 11-12; XENOPHON, Hellenica III, ii, 17; C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe 357.
24. The modern settlement pattern in all three valleys is particularly evident at dusk, when from any mountain side, several hundred feet above the plain, there is a ribbon of lights visible along the terrace but a general darkness over the mountains and the plain itself, save in the immediate vicinity of a town.

(ii) Agricultural Wealth and Potential.

As a whole the Maeander region is well suited to producing the staple crops of the Mediterranean agricultural economy: wheat, olives, vines, fruit and vegetables. It can also provide substantial grazing for sheep, goats and even cattle.[21]

The principal factor in this fertility is the extent of the alluvial plains whose size places the Maeander region in the same category as other prosperous alluvial areas of the Mediterranean such as the Po valley in northern Italy or the Guadalquivir in Spain.[22] In the valleys the most recently deposited alluvium is not the best arable land. Near to the sea the water table is still saline, but even inland the recent silt produces a sticky soil that presents considerable difficulties to the plough. The older alluvium, however, although now largely given over to cotton, is excellent wheat growing land.[23]

Traditionally more important than the younger soils in the valley bottom have been the older alluvial deposits which form a raised terrace running the whole length of the lower valleys. Many of the valley's settlement sites are clustered here, set above the flood plain and beneath the steeper slopes of the mountains behind. Where possible the sites avoid taking up valuable agricultural land and choose rocky outcrops which also offer defensive advantages.[24] Otherwise the lighter and better drained soils of these terraces are densely cultivated with fruit and vegetables close to the villages and towns, wheat further out and olives and vines, either grown in mixed cultivation with the wheat or on the higher poorer soil. The densely cultivated small fields indicate the fertility of the soil and especially in spring

25. L. ROBERT, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure' BCH CI (1977) 68-73; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 61, 67, 72; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor London (1834) II, 251-6; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 529-33.
26. C. D. SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne 23; R. MEIGGS, Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean world Oxford (1982) 371f, 392-4.
27. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey II, 143f.
28. Supra n. 12. The area around Cal, for example, is well known today for the production of cherry wine.
29. J. C. DEWDNEY, Turkey London (1971) 162-7; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey 133-41; F. ROUGON, Smyrne 71.

or early summer the traveller has the impression of passing through a continuous market garden.[25]

This carefully cultivated environment is repeated on the alluvial basins high in the mountains, but even where the slopes cannot support olives or vines they are still important for grazing, or timber where that has survived the onslaught of the goat.[26]

In the Upper Maeander the climate rules out the profitable cultivation of olives,[27] but otherwise most of the area is an extension of the same agricultural pattern. In the Baklan ovası, the area around Dinar, much of the Banaz ovası - although particularly in the north and east - and the Çal plain set in the hills where the Maeander cuts down to the lower valley, there are important areas of good arable land. Some indeed rival the terraces of the lower valleys in their density of cultivation. On the west side of the Banaz ovası where the limestone comes closer to the surface the soil is poorer. Pockets of good land support villages and even small towns but naturally the principal landuse in the area is rough grazing and in the last fifty years, forestry.[28]

In terms of the Mediterranean and even more so in terms of Asia Minor this adds up to a considerable agricultural potential. It is therefore not surprising that in modern Turkey the Maeander is one of the most prosperous and developed agricultural regions.[29] The same applied to the Roman world: to quote only one piece of a huge body of evidence, the anonymous Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium of the mid-4th century, said of this region, "et sic est maxima Asia quae eminet in omnem provinciam et

30. Expositio Totius Mundi et Gertium ed. J. Rouge. Sources Chretiennes CXXIV, Paris (1966) 182; for a survey of some of the evidence see T. R. S. BROUGHTON, 'Roman Asia Minor' in An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome ed. T. Frank, IV, Baltimore (1938) 599-902.
31. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey London (1968) 72-84; infra 245f.
32. e.g. G. WHEELER, A Journey into Greece 255, 269; T. SMITH Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks London (1678) 205-6: Smith actually attributes it to "the unpardonable carelessness of the Greeks".

habet civitates innumerabiles."[30]

By contrast in the Byzantine period, as the following chapter will show, there is no doubt that the region underwent an absolute economic decline. Moreover there is no evidence to suggest that maxima Asia played any pre-eminent role in the 7th to 11th century Empire, even relative to other Byzantine provinces. By the later 11th century the economic trend had turned for the better, but in some ways the regions's rapid loss to the Turks in the 1080s was the culmination of a major long term change in fortunes.[31]

It appears that the Byzantines did not tap the region's considerable natural resources to anything like their full potential, and even more important, the absence of any effective local resistance to the first Turkish invasions points to a failure to create a community of interest between the province and the Imperial government in Constantinople. The following chapters will argue that these two features of the Byzantine period in the Maeander region are interconnected and therefore that the region's long term economic development may legitimately be interpreted as an aspect of Byzantine social and political history.

(iii) Long Term Environmental Change.

Even the early visitors to the Maeander region were aware that dramatic changes had taken place in its geography over the historical period. At its most obvious, cities such as Ephesos and Miletos, which they knew from ancient authors to have been great maritime cities, were now utterly landlocked, several kilometres from the sea.[32]

33. e.g. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique (1877) Plates 1 and 2.
34. See in the first place, C. FOSS, Ephesus Appendix III, 185-7; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 1-68.

By the 19th century travellers had begun to take this idea further. The wealth of Roman Asia had been famous, the poverty of the present region - at least before the cotton boom - was all too evident. Was it possible that the same natural forces which had overwhelmed Ephesos' port with silt were also at work impoverishing the whole region? If that were so then social and political history would have to take second place to the study of physical geography. The decline of Byzantine Western Asia Minor would be no more than the inevitable consequence of geophysical events.[33]

The key questions are whether these changes were the result of human actions or inevitable natural forces, and furthermore, whatever their cause, did these geographical changes have disastrous consequences for the economy and society of the Maeander region.

Over the last twenty years the most important work on this subject has been done by geographers who have tended to concentrate on the impact of natural forces. Among these there have been two major approaches. One would see the major factor lying in the changes in relative levels of land and sea - known as the eustatic level - the other would look to the impact of climatic change.

Major changes in the eustatic level would certainly have dramatic effects. If the level fell this would increase the angle of run on the region's rivers, speed up erosion and leave ports cut off from the sea. A rise in the eustatic level would lead to coastal flooding, slower flowing rivers and a reduced rate of erosion.[34]

35. N. C. FLEMMING, 'Archaeological evidence for eustatic change of sea level and Earth movements in the Western Mediterranean during the last 2,000 years', Geological Society of America Special Paper CIX (1969); IDEM, Cities in the Sea London (1972) 184f.
36. IDEM, 'Archaeological evidence' 99; N. C. FLEMMING, N. M. G. CZARTORYSKA, P. M. HUNTER, 'Archaeological evidence for eustatic and tectonic components of relative sea level change in the south Aegean' in Marine Archaeology ed. D. J. Blackman, Proceedings of the 23rd Symposium of the Colston Research Society held in the University of Bristol, April 4th to 8th 1971, London (1973) 57f.
37. J. L. BINTLIFF, 'Climatic change, archaeology and Quaternary science in the eastern Mediterranean region' in Climatic change in Later Pre-History ed. A. Harding, Edinburgh (1982) 152-3.
38. ibid. 158.
39. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 62f.

A eustatic explanation for change does however seem to have been rejected for good through the work of N. C. Flemming.[35] Over the last two thousand years it appears that there have been a variety of changes in the relative level of land and sea throughout the Mediterranean. During this period there is no evidence for a general rise in sea level, but there is for local tectonic changes - that is changes in the level of the land. The particular evidence for the Maeander is uncertain, but the eastern Aegean coastlands, of which the Maeander forms a part, are a seismically active area and this is the most obvious indication of any tectonic movement. However, Flemming has demonstrated that this can really be of no historical significance since the largest suggested fall in the eustatic level is no more than 30 centimetres over 3,500 years. Such a drop would only have the slightest discernible effect.[36]

The process of climatic change offers a much more substantial explanation. It is claimed that during the 4th to 7th centuries AD the climate in the Mediterranean as a whole shifted to a pattern of slightly hotter, drier summers and colder, possibly wetter winters, interspersed with alternate periods of dramatic rainfall and drought.[37] The most recent synthesis, that of J. L. Bintliff, sums up the effects as follows:

"... the loss of hill-land and valley fields due to enhanced erosion, poorly controlled, aggrading rivers, and decline in warmth that could have had deleterious effects on crops, must have been significant in the decline of the Roman and Byzantine Empires."[38]

Although some have claimed that there is supporting evidence to be found in contemporary written sources,[39] the case for

40. C. VITA-FINZI, The Mediterranean Valleys. Geological change in historical times Cambridge (1969) passim; for Turkey in particular, see IDEM, 'Late Quaternary continental deposits of central and Western Turkey' Man IV (1969) 605-19.
41. IDEM, The Mediterranean Valleys 7-88, 91-102.
42. ibid. 103-15.

climatic change in the late Roman - early Byzantine period rests on the interpretation of the sedimentation patterns of mediterranean streams. It was first put forward in detail by C. Vita-Finzi in 1969[40] with various subsequent refinements. The work was principally carried out in Tripolitana, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, but it was claimed that the conclusions were supported by observations taken throughout the Mediterranean. On this basis Vita-Finzi asserted that over the last 50,000 years all mediterranean streams and rivers had gone through alternate phases of increased erosion and deposition. During this period there had been two phases of increased deposition. The first, lasting from about 50,000 years ago to about 10,000 years ago, produced what Vita-Finzi has named the Older Fill. This was succeeded by a phase of increased erosion which cut down the Older Fill leaving it as an exposed terrace above. This in turn was succeeded by a further phase of increased deposition which produced a new alluvial level called the Younger Fill.

On the basis mainly of north African pottery deposits found in the Younger Fill, Vita-Finzi dated the opening of this new phase to between the 4th and 7th century AD. This phase seems to have lasted until about the 16th/17th century when a renewed phase of increased erosion began which apparently still applies.[41]

Vita-Finzi and others have regarded this pattern of sedimentation as so general a phenomenon as to require a general explanation, and since Flemming has shown that a change in the eustatic level could not have been responsible, a change in the climatic pattern has seemed the only probable mechanism.[42]

43. D. EISMA, 'Stream deposition in the Mediterranean area in historical times' Nature CCIII (1964) 1061; IDEM, 'Stream deposition and erosion by the eastern shore of the Aegean' in The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East ed. W. C. Brice, London (1978) 67-81.
44. S. JUDSON, 'Erosion and deposition of Italian stream valleys during historic time' Science CXL (1963) 898-9.
45. C. N. RAPHAEL, 'Late Quaternary changes in coastal Elis, Greece' Geographical Review LXIII (1973) 73-89.
46. M. BELL, 'The effects of land - use and climate on valley sedimentation' in Climate Change in Later Pre-History 127-32, 139; c.f. J. L. BINTLIFF 'Climate change, archaeology and Quaternary Science' 152, 156.
47. ibid. 152.
48. R. MEIGGS, Trees and Timber in the ancient Mediterranean World, Oxford (1982) 371-403, esp. 392-4; for west Turkish forests over the last century see, A. PHILIPPSON, 'Die Vegetation des westlichen Kleinasien' Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen LXV (1919) 168-73; X. DE PLANHOL 'La Vie de Montagne dans le Sandras dag (Carie Meridionale - Turquie)' Revue de Geographie Alpine XLII (1954) 667; IDEM, H. INADIK, 'Études sur la vie de Montagne dans le sud-ouest de l'Anatolie' ibid. XLVII (1959) 379. see also n. 20 supra.

Since 1969 Vita-Finzi's initial assertions have required some qualification. In particular it seems that there are several important exceptions to the late Roman date for the Younger Fill. In the Maeander region itself, although the Younger Fill is present in the Cayster river, the greater part was accumulated centuries earlier during the Hellenistic period.[43] A similar dating has been shown for the Younger Fill in Sicily,[44] while at Elis in Greece the major part was deposited in Roman times with very little post-Roman alluviation.[45]

This range of dates has raised doubts in some quarters about the validity of the climate theory. M. Bell, for example, has argued that the discrepancies are such that the only proper way to approach the Younger Fill is to interpret it in the light of each valley's individual geomorphology. As far as there is a general cause, the Younger Fill was the product of human factors, such as the increased agricultural exploitation of the uplands leading to the loss of forest cover, more erosion and more siltation.[46]

However more recent research in Greece and Turkey has in fact tended to confirm Vita-Finzi's original dating, and to suggest that the cases quoted above are either exceptional or misunderstood.[47] Bell's theory of increased agricultural exploitation and deforestation also fits badly with a late date for the Fill. The deforestation of Western Asia Minor had begun before the late Roman period, and the next significant increase does not seem to have been until the 19th century.[48]

Thus on balance the case for climatic change is quite strong. Vita-Finzi's identification and dating of the Younger Fill both seem to have been confirmed; and since it is a mediterranean-wide

49. The caveats should still however be kept in mind: note the cautionary remarks of C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe London (1979) 323-5; the evidence of pollen counts also does not fit easily with a hypothesis of major climatic change: J. C. KRAFT, G. RAPP, S. E. ASCHENBRENNER, 'Late Holocene Paleography of the Coastal plain of the Gulf of Messenia, Greece and its relationships to Archaeological settings and to coastal change' Geological Society of America Bulletin LXXXVI (1975) 1207-8; see also J. M. WAGSTAFF, 'Buried assumptions: Some Problems in the Interpretation of the 'Younger Fill' raised by recent data from Greece', Journal of Archaeological Science VIII (1981) 247-64.
50. See n. 39 supra.
51. 'Vita S. Theodori Sycceotae' ed. A.-J. Festugiere, Vie de Theodore de Sykeon Subsidia Hagiographica XLVIII, Brussels (1970) 40, 46; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 64.
52. PROCOPIUS, De Aedificiis V, iii, 3; ii, 6-13; iii, 1-6; iii, 7-11; iii, 12-15; iv, 1-3, 4-6; v, 8-13, 14-20.
53. 4th century: L. ROBERT 'Les Inscriptions' in Laodicee du Lycos, Le Nymphée, ed. J. des Gagniers et al., Paris (1969) 346-51; 6th century: A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palaestran Milet I/9, Berlin (1928) 169-71, nr 343.
54. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor Princeton (1950) II, 883-4; G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 2nd edn. London (1979) 204-6.

phenomenon it must have been caused by a general environmental shift rather than local human factors.

Yet even if climatic change is accepted, it is still far from clear that it had the consequences that Bintliff and others imagine. It has been claimed that contemporary written sources do show a dramatic change in the environment during late Roman and Byzantine periods. [50] However when these sources are examined in detail it seems instead that they are describing the normal natural patterns of the region which have changed little if at all over the historical period. For example there are a number of references to rivers eroding their banks and silting their mouths during this period. The early 7th century Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon, a saint who spent most of his career in Galatia, contains several references to land erosion. [51] Procopius' De Aedificiis refers to a number of uncontrollable and raging rivers which the Emperor Justinian brought to order. [52] There are 4th and 6th century inscriptions recording dredging operations at Miletos and elsewhere in the Maeander region. [53]

Yet none of this is evidence of a new problem, as for example the case of Myos can show. The city, lying at the western end of the Maeander valley, was an Ionian foundation of about the 10th century BC. The site has been identified at Avşar kalesi, near the village of Avşar, about 2 kilometres to the north of Bafa Gölü and about 25 kilometres from the present coastline. [54] At the time of the foundation of the city Bafa Gölü was an inlet of

- 55. HERODOTUS, V, 32 and 36.
- 56. STRABO XIV, i, 10.
- 57. VITRUVIUS IV, i, 4.
- 58. STRABO XIV, i, 10.
- 59. PAUSANIAS VII, ii, 10-11.
- 60. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor 882-3, 893-4, 894-5; PAULY-WISSOWA, 'Magnesia' 471-3.

the sea and like Priene and Miletos - today similarly landlocked - Myos was a considerable port. Herodotus records that in 499 BC a fleet of 200 warships could anchor there.[55]

From that date on the evidence reveals a continuous decline, until by the end of the 1st century BC Strabo could state that Myos was no longer a separate city but had been incorporated into Miletos.[56] Its fate seems to have been widely known since at approximately the same time Vitruvius also knew of Myos, "quae olim ab aqua est devorata." [57] When Strabo wrote there was still a small settlement there, even if only accessible by rowing boat via some three miles of shallow channels through the marshes.[58] A century and a half later Pausanias found the site entirely deserted, which prompted him to give a valuable description of what had happened:

"The people of Myos abandoned their city for the following reason. A small inlet of the sea used to run to their land. This inlet the river Maeander turned into a lake, by blocking up the entrance with mud. When the water, ceasing to be sea, became fresh, mosquitos in vast swarms bred in the lake until the inhabitants were forced to leave the city. They departed for Miletos, taking with them the images of the Gods and their other moveables, and on my visit I found nothing in Myos except a white marble temple of Dionysios." [59]

The fate of Myos is only the best known example of what was obviously a continuous process of silting which had been at work for at least a millenium before the deposition of the Younger Fill. The other major coastal cities in the Maeander valley all had to change site during the first millenium BC in order to survive and even they were being inexorably overtaken by the silt.[60] Further east, even the island of Hybanda was by the 1st

61. PLINY, Natural History II, 204; L. ROBERT, Opera Minora 1423-8.
62. PLINY, Natural History II, 201, 204; V, 115; STRABO XIV, i, 24; D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor 885-7.
63. PLINY, Natural History V, 119; D. MAGIE, op.cit. 1035; G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 97-8.
64. PAUSANIAS VII, ii, 11.
65. n. 53 supra.
66. J. KEIL, 'Erlass des Prokonsuls L. Antonius Albus über die Freihaltung des ephesischen Hafens', Jahrshefte des Österreichischen archaologischen Instituts XLIV (1959) 142-7.

century AD a mere hill in the surrounding alluvial plain, where it now bears the modern village of Ozbaşı.[61]

To the north the Cayster was steadily silting up the port of Ephesos and creating, akin to Myos, malarial swamps that appear to have forced an early change of site.[62] The Hermos too was steadily encroaching on Leucai,[63] and further north, near Pergamon, Pausanias noted how "a similar fate to that of Myos" had overwhelmed Atarneos.[64]

Naturally the local and imperial authorities attempted to hold back this process. Their dredging operations in the 4th and 6th centuries AD have already been referred to, [65] but this was naturally nothing new. At Ephesos there is epigraphic evidence going back to the 4th century BC showing the city in a constant battle with the Cayster silt.[66] There is nothing to suggest that silting had become a greater problem in a period of apparant climatic change.

As with silting, so with the other environmental hazards characteristic of the Maeander region. What is often taken as evidence for worsening conditions is in fact only a reflection of new types of source material. The conditions themselves had occurred in the past and were to continue in the same manner into the future.

To take an example: the Maeander's changing course destroys adjacent farmland. For the Maeander itself this is today no longer a major problem because of the advances in modern drainage technology, but on smaller streams, and on the Maeander until quite recently, river erosion was a sometimes devastating problem.

67. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 1-20.
68. EP II, 18. The changing course of the Maeander was evidently disastrous for this particular estate but a single example does not justify the conclusion in M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 68, that "the loss to agricultural productivity, and therefore eventually to the state's finances ... was probably appreciable, and may have been fundamental."
69. F. DOLGER, Beitrage zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts Byzantinisches Archiv IX, Leipzig (1927) 120.
70. STRABO XII, viii, 19.
71. See n. 52 supra; c.f. A. CAMERON, Procopius London (1985) 84-112.

Its process was noted by the two French geographers, Rayet and Thomas, in the 1860s,[67] land destroyed by the river was recorded in a later 11th century praktikon of an estate near Miletos,[68] and about a century earlier land tax officials were being advised to take this factor into account when they were drawing up assessments;[69] the same problem was noted by Strabo a millerium earlier as a common natural fact of the region's geography.[70] It is therefore no kind of argument to point to the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon and claim it as evidence of increased erosion. The only discernable change in the 6th and 7th century was the compilation of a saint's Life which would record such a fact.

The same applies to Procopius' De Aedificiis. Book Five contains a number of references to raging rivers because Procopius is compiling a panegyric record of the Emperor's building and it is only by such means that he can glorify an otherwise prosaic programme of bridge building. It would appear to be the genre not the climate which is at fault.[71]

There are more references to storms, droughts, famines, floods and severe winters in the period from the 4th century AD than before, but this is plainly a historiographical distortion rather than an absolute increase. The evidence quoted above for coastal silting at Myos and elsewhere comes for the most part from ancient geographers who tended to be more interested in long term factors rather than particular storms or droughts. Otherwise ancient writers, particularly those in the tradition of classical historiography reveal very little climatic information. By contrast the ecclesiastical historians, chroniclers and hagiographers from the 4th century saw the universe as a moral whole where climatic prodigies were an expression of divine

72. The glaciation evidence can be found in W. R. FARRAND, 'Blank on the Pleistocene map' Geographical Journal (May 1979) 548-54; S. ERINC 'Changes in the physical environment in Turkey since the end of the Last Glacial' in The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East ed. W. C. Brice, London (1978) 87-110. The combination of exceptionally harsh winters with hot dry summers stands out in several contemporary accounts: W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, ; V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia London (1828) 154-5, 160, 163-5; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor London (1834) II, 21, 201-5; C. FELLOWS, A Journal written during an excursion in Asia Minor London (1839) 12-13, 301; IDEM, An Account of Discoveries in Lycia London (1841) 3. This climatic pattern contrasts both with equivalent evidence from the 17th and 18th centuries when the mild winter was regarded as the natural travelling season, (travelling season, for example: T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks etc. London (1678) 207-8; J. B. TAVERNIER, The Six Voyages London (1678) 6; F. HASSELQUIST, Voyages and Travels in the Levant; in the Years 1749, 50, 51, 52 London (1766) 27; C. THOMPSON, Travels Reading (1744) II, 373; G. WHEELER, A Journey into Greece London (1682) 261. Mild winters: J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, The Islands of the Archipelago London (1759) I, 1; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 3rd edn. London (1817) 76), and also with the known pattern of the later 19th century and the present day: C. DE SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne Vienna (1873) 14-15; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey (1942-3) 199. It is a reason for added caution when considering the Younger Fill to note that this period of greater seasonal range is apparently not detectable in the sediment patterns: D. EISMA, 'Stream deposition and erosion by the eastern shore of the Aegean' in The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East ed. W. C. Brice, 67-81. Modern sedimentation has generally been a 20th century phenomenon resulting from the deep ploughing of the central plateau, R. J. RUSSELL, 'Alluvial morphology of Anatolian rivers', Annals of the Association of American Geographers XLIV (1954) 363-6. Note also the suggestion that advancing alluvial coasts naturally alternate between periods of rapid and slower advance without external factors being necessary, ibid 376.

73. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit (1828) 10, 72, 162, 166, 205, 218; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor (1834) II, 142; C. FELLOWS, A Journal (1839) 21, 25, 278, 287-8; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 513-4, 52.

judgement on human actions. Their meaning might not always be clear but it was felt that they should be recorded as potential evidence of God's intentions for mankind. A dismal list of natural and climatic horrors can be compiled for the late Roman and medieval period, but although of great interest there is no reason to believe it reveals any substantial change.

Thus the case for climatic change in the late Roman and Byzantine period still rests on no more than a contested interpretation of the Younger Foll, and the assertion of Bintliff and Vita-Finzi that it had serious social and economic consequences remains entirely hypothetical. Indeed the written sources discussed above tend to suggest a fairly constant and familiar environment throughout the historical period.

In this context a comparison with the climatic patterns of the 19th century can be helpful. There is evidence in the descriptions of travellers and in the glaciation pattern on Mount Ararat to show that the first half of the 19th century, and in particular the decades of the 1820s and 1830s, was a period of exceptionally harsh winters and hot dry summers.[72] This amounted to something very close to the climatic changes envisaged by Bintliff for the 4th to 7th centuries AD. Yet despite the reduced winter temperatures, the greater seasonal range and the shorter growing season, the early 19th century was still a period of agricultural revival in western Turkey. The same travellers who could describe the ice as "thick in every direction" in the Maeander valley, also noted the growing agricultural prosperity of exactly the same area.[73] Social, political and economic factors in this case far outweighed the influence of deterioration in the climate.

74.

See the remarks of F. BRAUDEL, The Structures of
Everyday Life trans. S. Reynolds, London (1981) 49-51.

The same impression is given by studies of the Little Ice Age and its effect on the western European economy between the 14th and 17th century. Climatic change could wreak havoc in a marginal area such as the North Yorkshire moors, especially where economic pressures had encouraged the growing of inappropriate crops, but the vast majority of communities continued on despite. The overwhelming impression is of continuity and where necessary adaption.[74]

Bintliff's model of climatic change envisaged the key factors undermining the region's economy as increased erosion and sedimentation, lower general temperatures and shorter growing season. The first of these has been shown to be a permanent feature of region's geomorphology. The second and third were endured in the 19th century, and the same would certainly have occurred in the 7th. If climatic change occurred in the late Roman period it was only of minor importance.

Man's activities are very plainly moulded by his environment and that is particularly evident among the agricultural societies of the Mediterranean. The Maeander region was part of the mediterranean world and its inhabitants followed a pattern of life closely determined by that environment. The evidence discussed above does not support the idea that major changes occurred either in the climate or the geography of the Maeander region which could have transformed its society or economy. Fluctuations in both no doubt did take place, but there is no reason to think that the inhabitants would not have adapted. The mediterranean is a harsh world with extremes that come as a surprise to the summer visitor from the north. Any successful mediterranean society has to be hardy, sophisticated in terms of its environment, and

75.

See C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe 155-191;
H. A. FORBES, Strategies and Soils: Technology,
Production and Environment in the Peninsula of
Methana, Greece Michigan (1982) ; a useful
summary is to be found in L. FOXHALL, 'Greece Ancient
and Modern. Subsistence and Survival' History Today
XXXVI (1986) July 35-43.

adaptable.[75] The dramatic, even drastic rise, fall and recovery of the Maeander region from the heyday of the Roman Empire to the present day are the result of political, social and economic changes, not the inevitable consequences of climate or geography.

PART TWO

CITIES AND SETTLEMENT

1. G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages' DOP XIII (1959) 47-66; S. VRYONIS, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century Berkeley (1971) 6-10; c.f. A. KAZDAN, 'Vizantijskie goroda v VII-IX vekach' Sovetskaya Archeologiya XXI (1954) 164-83; for a survey of previous work and ideas see C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities 12-20; for a survey of more recent work over the empire as a whole, see C. BOURAS 'City and Village: Urban design and Architecture', XVI Internationaler Byzantinisten kongress. Akten I/2, JÖB XXXI (1981) 611-53. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics I, 11-31; IDEM, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 82-8.
2. C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of western Asia Minor unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard (1972) passim; IDEM Byzantine and Turkish Sardis Cambridge, Mass. (1976) 53-89; IDEM, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977) 469-86; IDEM, Ephesus after Antiquity: a late antique, Byzantine and Turkish City Cambridge (1979) 46-137.

CHAPTER TWO Written sources and archaeological evidence.

(i) The Sources

The general economic trends of the Byzantine world are fundamental to any understanding of the history of its society, and to that end a considerable advance has been made over the last twenty years. In the late 1960s it was widely held that the distinguishing feature of Byzantium was its preservation of the urban culture of the Roman world. Such a view marked no great advance on the work of W. M. Ramsay eighty years before. Yet through the excavation of classical sites at Corinth, Athens, Ephesos, Sardis and Pergamon the evidence had become available for a radical reappraisal of this view.[1]

In the field of Byzantine studies the work of C. Foss constitutes something of a breakthrough. By looking at the evidence of archaeology and numismatics rather than at the 'distorting mirror' of the literary sources Foss could prove for Western Asia Minor that the sophisticated and prosperous urban culture which characterized the late Roman world did not survive the crisis of the 7th century. His evidence also showed that the history of medieval Byzantium was not one of a steady decline from a glorious Roman past but a collapse followed by a gradual recovery reaching a peak in the 11th and sometimes 12th centuries. The recovery however was not of the Roman past but of a new cultural amalgam which can be called Byzantine.[2]

3. See the remarks of C. MANGO, Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror Inaugural Lecture, University of Oxford, Oxford (1975) passim; c.f. M. MULLETT, 'The Byzantine Letter' in Byzantium and The Classical Tradition (1981) 81.
4. G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Sur la date de la composition du livre des Thèmes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers thèmes d'Asie Mineure' B XXIII (1953) 31-66; neither T. C. LOUNGHIS, 'Sur la date du de Thematibus' REB XXXI (1973) 299-305, nor H. AHRWEILER, 'Sur la date du de Thematibus de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète' TM VIII (1981) 1-5 offer a convincing alternative.
5. De Thematibus 68.

Foss' main point, that there was a 7th century collapse followed by a 9th-11th century recovery, can be accepted without hesitation. The work of other scholars has subsequently reinforced his hypothesis. But his evidence is less sure for what sort of society and settlement pattern survived the 7th century to form the basis for that of medieval Byzantium. In particular the case for the abandonment of classical sites in favour of a dispersed rural settlement withdrawing to hill top refuge sites in time of crisis is in need of reassessment.

The problem is basically one of inadequate sources, both written and otherwise. As Foss made clear, the literary descriptions left by Byzantines can form no base for study. High-style Byzantine texts tend to clothe reality in a complicated classicising garb so that although not devoid of importance they bear a shifting and uncertain relationship with reality.[3] Other materials such as some saints' lives or documents are less tendentious but they tend to take contemporary reality for granted and rarely specify their surroundings in detail. More fundamental they are far too rare to form a useful body of evidence.

In view of this the importance often given to the 10th century work of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, the De Thematribus, is untenable. This work, reliably dated to 934/5,[4] purports to describe the themes or provinces into which the Empire was then divided. Under the theme of the Thrakesion its author included a list of the twenty cities of Asia in order of importance.[5] Historians have known since at least the 18th century that the De Thematribus was not a reliable guide to the 10th century Empire. "A review of the Themes or provinces,"

6. E. GIBBON, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
Oxford (1776). V, 467 and n. 10.
7. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of
Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977).
8. De Thematibus 60-3.

complained Edward Gibbon, "might promise such authentic and useful information, as the curiosity of government only can obtain, instead of traditionary fables on the origins of cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants." [6] However despite this the De Thematibus has not been disregarded. In particular the list of the twenty cities of Asia has been used to show that they were still extant in the 10th century and moreover that if these cities were in a poor state then it followed that others unnamed were only so much worse. [7]

Although it must form something of a digression from the main theme of this chapter, this interpretation of the De Thematibus and the twenty cities deserves to be refuted in detail, not only because of the confusion introduced by the spurious importance of the list, but because it is an essential introduction to the nature of Byzantine sources.

The first part of the De Thematibus covers the theme of the Anatolikoi and apart from its relevance as containing the Upper Maeander region within its boundaries, the chapter is a particularly clear example of the distortion and misuse which Constantine inflicted on his sources. [8]

One can divide these sources into three groups. The first can be labelled 'antique', the second is approximately 8th century, while the third was contemporary. Of these the most important as an indication of Constantine's working methodology is probably the first group of evidently antique materials.

Despite the supposed subject matter of the chapter, Constantine included material which covered the past history of

9. De Thematibus 60, lines 1-9. This may not be an unreasonable error in view of the theme's origin as the army of the magister militum per Orientem C. DIEHL, 'L'Origine du régime des thèmes dans l'Empire Byzantine' Etudes Byzantines Paris (1905) 276-92.
10. C. ERDMANN, Forschungen zur politischen ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters Berlin (1951) 1-31, 43-51.

the whole of Asia Minor and its government, rather than merely the Anatolikon as it was understood in the 10th century. In fact throughout the chapter there is a tendency to equate 'the Anatolikon' with 'the East' and that in turn with Asia Minor.[9]

It is a disconcerting feature of the whole of Constantine's work that he appears so often oblivious to the significance of the terminology he was using. He has a few lines on the Macedonian and Persian rulers of Asia Minor, but his major concern was with the Roman and especially late Roman period. This is quite understandable in that the late Roman period and above all the 6th century held a fascination for the medieval Byzantines. It was closer in time than the ancient Roman period but more important it was Christian in religion and relatively well served by surviving sources. In both east and west it is striking that the goal of the various medieval movements for renovatio imperio was the late Roman rather than earlier Empire.[10] Nevertheless, Constantine Porphyrogenitos found the late Roman world very difficult to understand. The essential continuity of the Empire was part of the dogma of the Byzantine state yet the difference between even the late Roman Christian Empire and the Byzantium of the 10th century was so great that interpreting the past in terms of the present became an increasingly hard if perennial task for the Byzantine scholar. In trying to place the pre-7th century inheritance into the contemporary Byzantine world picture, Constantine was not alone. He was following in the Byzantine tradition and could be described as attempting to do for the administrative and geographical materials what Theophanes, George the Monk and the Patriarch Nikephoros had earlier attempted for history, and the authors of the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai and

11. THEOPHANES, Chronographia ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig (1883-5); NIKEPHOROS, Istoría Syntomos ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig (1880); Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanum ed. T. Preger, Leipzig (1901-7) 1-73, 135f; see also Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai ed. A. Cameron, J. Herrin et al., Leiden (1984).
12. De Thematibus 63, lines 74-8.
13. JOHN LYDOS, On Powers or the Magistracies of the Roman state ed. A. C. Bandy, The American Philosophical Society, Memoirs CXLIX, Philadelphia (1983) ix-xxvi.
14. JOHN LYDOS xxxix-lxiv; PHOTIOS, Bibliothèque ed. R. Henry, vol. II, Paris (1960) 187-8.

the Patria Constantinopoleos had tried to achieve for the buildings, statues and traditions of Constantinople.[11] Just as these earlier authors, Constantine Porphyrogenitos found the practice of this task led in the main only to confusion and rejection of any historical sense.

At the end of the chapter Constantine includes a passage which because for once its source can be independently identified is a valuable indication of his working method. It reads as follows:

"These are now the boundaries of the theme of the East [toû tês Anatolēs Thematos]. Those called Tourmarchai are in the service of the Strategoi. It is stated that those of this rank have under their command 500 archers [stratiotas toxophorous], 300 peltasts and 100 spearmen. For thus it is recorded in the book of John of Philadelphia, called Lydos." [12]

John Lydos is well known. He was a senior civil servant, born c. 490, who wrote the De Magistratibus Populi Romani - the work to which Constantine is referring - in the mid-6th century.[13] It is not absolutely certain that Constantine knew of this work in the full original rather than via a florilegium or an epitome, but the De Magistratibus was available in 10th century Constantinople and reasonably well known among Byzantine intellectuals of the period. It had been read by the Patriarch Photios in the 9th century who discusses it in the Bibliotheca, and the principal surviving manuscript has been dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.[14] In any case the only passage in the De Magistratibus to which he can have been referring to is this:

15. JOHN LYDOS 68-70.
16. Les Listes 341.
17. J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 100-4.
18. LEO VI, Taktika PG CVII, 721-4, 732, 736; Three Byzantine Military Treatises ed. G. T. Dennis, CFHB XXV, Washington (1985) 176, line 64.

"[The early Roman Legion was divided into] units of three hundred shield-bearers, which they called cohortes, and alai, namely 'troops' of six hundred horsemen; vexillationes of five hundred horsemen; tourmai of five hundred archer-horsemen [tourmas apo pentakosiōn toxotōn hippeōn]; and legions of six thousand foot soldiers and the same number of horsemen." [15]

Quite plainly Constantine was mystified by the De Magistratibus. He had in his possession a work whose title proclaimed that it contained what he wanted to know, yet in fact he could hardly understand it because John Lydos' world and intellectual background were so far removed from his own. As a consequence Constantine grasped at the first thing which appeared familiar, which happened to be tourmai. John Lydos in this passage is actually describing the organization of the ancient Roman legion but Constantine at once associates this with the tourmai which were the principal subordinate units into which the Byzantine theme army was divided. The commanders of these units were the most senior officers under the strategos and were called tourmarchai. [16] The association was made more reasonable by an approximate equivalence of numbers. John Lydos' tourmai each contained five hundred mounted archers. It has been calculated that for some themes the strength of the cavalry contingent was about 1,500 men. [17] Since there were usually, or at least traditionally, three tourmarchs in a theme, John Lydos' tourmai appeared to fit the pattern. Moreover the description of them as 'archer horsemen' fitted the practice of the 10th century theme cavalry. [18] The three hundred peltasts of the De Thematibus are presumably to be derived from John Lydos' cohort of three hundred shield bearers, though Constantine's one hundred spearmen are

19. J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 30-1.
20. Excerpta de legationibus ed. C. de Boor, Berlin (1903); Excerpta de insidiis ed. C. de Boor, Berlin (1905); Excerpta de Sententiis ed. U. P. Boissevain, Berlin (1906); Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis I ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Berlin (1906); ibid II, ed. A. G. ROOS, Berlin (1910). For preamble, with note of alternative readings, see P. LEMERLE, Le Premier Humanisme Byzantin Paris (1971) 281-2 and n. 48. In general on the Excerpta see IDEM 280-88.

still left to be explained. This is not a serious problem because almost nothing is known about the organization of infantry forces in the middle Byzantine theme armies, but it is not easy to see how Constantine's statements could be fitted into what is known of the 10th century military system.[19]

Constantine's approach to his sources as exemplified in his treatment of the De Magistratibus was repeated on a larger scale in the project which led to the creation of the Excerpta. Substantial portions of only four books of the Excerpta now survive but it is clear that it was made up of a series of extracts taken from ancient authors and arranged under titles such as 'On Embassies', 'On the Virtues and Vices', or 'On the Proclamation of Kings'. The titles of twenty-five such books are known but the whole seems to have been intended to number fifty-three books. Apart from the sheer scale of the enterprise, its most striking feature is its anti-historical approach. The excerpted authors are taken from all periods of the ancient world and the relevant passages are transcribed with no attempt at placing them either in a chronological sequence or even in any sort of context. They stand simply as chosen examples of a type of event from which Constantine intended that his readers would draw a universally valid moral point.[20]

The standing of the Excerpta as what might be described as an encyclopedia of moral exempla makes it a more sophisticated work than the De Thematibus, but in conception the two are very close. In the latter Constantine was doing little more than pigeon-holing information that he had derived from a number of

21. De Thematibus 114f; A. PERTUSI, 'La Formation des thèmes byzantins' Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten - kongress I, Munich (1960) 36-7; G. OSTROGORSKY, History of the Byzantine State trans. J. Hussey, 2nd edn. Oxford (1968) 157.
22. De Thematibus 61, lines 10-20.

antique literary sources and with the minimum of concession to the demands of history he placed it under the 10th century headings of the themes. In addition to the antique materials in the chapter there are also the two groups of slightly more recent date. One is of the 7th or 8th century, the other appears to be roughly contemporary with Constantine himself. Yet in practice his treatment of his sources remains exactly the same.

The theme of the Anatolikoi was one of the original themes of Asia Minor set up in the wake of the Arab invasions. In the 7th century it included the south and south-west of Asia Minor, namely the classical provinces of Isauria, Pamphylia and Lycia. In the 720s, in response to the great Arab assault on Constantinople in 717-18 and the chronic political instability of the previous thirty years, the Emperor Leo III instituted a radical reform of the theme system. Two key features of this were the reduction in size of the main eastern theme of the Anatolikon and the reassignment of its southern and south-western portions to provide the territorial base for the new naval theme of the Kilyrrhaiotai.[21] This had happened over two centuries before Constantine had written, yet he could still describe the Anatolikon as follows:

"The present Anatolikon theme, as it is now called, takes its population wholly from five ethnoi. It starts from the komopolis called Mēros, and is called Phrygia Saloutaria as far as Ikonion. The neighbourhood of the Isaurians towards the Taurus is called Lykaonia. That towards the sea and the south and the mountain called Psychros as far as Attaleia itself is called Pamphylia. The region above and inland is called Pisidia. That from Akroïnos as far as Amorion is called Phrygia Kapatiana. That lying toward the sea and bordering on Caria is called Lycia. Those parts inland and in the neighbourhood of the Taurus stretching as far as the borders of Cappadocia are called Anatolika, for they are part of the theme of the Anatolikon." [22]

23. ibid 61, lines 20-25.

Amidst a certain amount of geographical nonsense, it is plain both from the contents and from the opening words, "The present Anatolikon theme, as it is now called ..." that Constantine had simply copied verbatim a much earlier source.

The Emperor cannot have been unaware that the 10th century theme did not include Lycia, Pamphylia and Isauria. Apart from the unlikelihood of such ignorance it is contradicted by the third group of materials contained in the chapter. "Now these," he writes, almost repeating the words which a few lines above he had introduced a state of affairs that had in fact ceased to exist two centuries earlier," are the present boundaries of the Anatolikon theme: it starts from Mēros which is at the end of the Opsikion, and it reaches as far as the boundaries of Isauria in length; in breadth it extends from the left hand side of the Boukellarion and the beginning of Cappadocia to the right hand side of Isauria and the beginning of the lands of the Kibyrrhaiotai." [23]

Such a statement could have been made at any date from the 720s onwards, but perhaps the distinction drawn between Isauria and the Kibyrrhaiotai implies that the former was a separate theme at the time of writing. Mountainous Isauria was a traditional recruiting ground of Byzantine soldiery, but the region's strategic importance as a guardian of the crucial Taurus passes increased in step with the rise of the neighbouring Emirate of Tarsos in the Cilician plain. Isauria appears first as the kleisoura of Seleukia in the Taktikon Uspenskij of 842-3, but it was not raised to the status of a theme until the reign of Romanos I, probably between 927 and 934/5 when it appears as a theme in the De Thematribus. This need only prove that Constantine's source

24. Les Listes 54 n. 35, 350; De Thematibus 147-8; A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/2, 7.
25. De Thematibus 67.
26. ibid 68.
27. H. AHRWEILER, 'La Region de Smyrne' 123-4.

post-dates the 9th century creation of a kleisoura, but this would be straining at a small point and it is reasonable to regard this material as roughly contemporary.[24]

Constantine's inclusion of contradictory materials from a wide range of periods and his failure even to edit earlier sources in the light of contemporary information can only be explained on the presumption that he saw no importance in such contradictions. As with the Excerpta, the process of pigeon-holing was to be an end in itself. If this were the case, then throughout the De Thematribus unless it is possible to identify Constantine's source the mere inclusion of a piece of information does not guarantee it the slightest relevance to the 10th century.

The chapter on the Thrakesion, which includes the list of twenty cities of Asia, is in fact even more antiquarian in content than that on the Anatolikon. It starts with a revelation of ignorance by stating that the ruler of Asia Minor, the proconsul, was a man called Asiarch. There follows a story taken from Nikolas of Damascus a Greek historian of the late 1st century BC, which explains that the name Thrakesion derives from a couple from Thrace who settled in Lydia in the days of Alyattes. Constantine then notes that the theme is peopled by the Lydians, Maionians, Carians and Ionians - all antique information of no relevance to the 10th century.[25] Finally Constantine lists the twenty cities of Asia.[26]

The source for the list is unknown. H. Ahrweiler mistakenly claimed that it was a list of the "twenty famous cities" of Asia Proconsularis,[27] but in fact it does not coincide with that

28. c.f. HIEROKLES 21-2; E. HONIGMANN, Die Sieben klimata und die POLEIS EPISEMOI Heidelberg (1929) 200, 219, et passim; L. ROBERT, 'Sur des Inscriptions d'Ephèse' Revue de Philologie XLI (1967) 44-64.
29. See infra. 73 - 83, III-12, 128-30, 146-52.
30. 'Djughrāfiya', EI 2nd edn. II, 578-84; on the place of geography in the Arab world see A. MIQUEL, La Géographie Humaine de Monde Musulman Paris, I (1967), II (1975) passim, but in particular on the relationship between the writing of geography and literature, administrative writings and the direct observation of travellers, see ibid I, 21-3, 69-106, 267-330.

province, nor with the Diocletianic province of Asia or with the diocese of Asiana. Elsewhere in the De Thematibus Constantine refers to the work of the 6th century geographer, Hierocles, but that is not the source of this list, nor is any of the episcopal notitiae. He also includes other similar lists introduced as poleis episemoi, and it has been suggested that this might be the technical expression applied to lists of cities whose longitude and latitude in the seven klimata were recorded by ancient geographers for the purposes of map making. E. Honigmann published a number of these ancient lists and it can be seen at once that they are of an entirely different character.[28]

The absence of an evident source has encouraged a misplaced confidence in the list. This is despite the fact that it excludes places such as Philadelphia and Mastaura known to have been extant if not prosperous in the Byzantine period and gives cities such as Priene and Colophon a pre-eminence they cannot have held since the 4th or 5th century BC.[29] In view of Constantine's treatment of his sources, demonstrated above for his chapter on the Anatolikon, there can be no case for regarding the 'twenty cities' as anything other than an antique list pigeon-holed into a vaguely appropriate chapter. It has no significance for the historian of the Byzantine Maeander.

Constantine's curious work has merited so much attention because otherwise in terms of formal works of geography there is very little else. It is a feature of Byzantine culture that it did not produce a geographical literature to match that of the contemporary Arab world.[30] Thus, as Foss urged, in view of the scarcity and nature of the literary and documentary evidence, the

31. e.g. J. LEFORT, Villages de Macédoine 1. La Chalcidique Occidentale Travaux et Mémoires Monographies I, Paris (1982).
32. See T. W. POTTER, The Changing Landscape of South Etruria London (1979) 1-18, 138-67; San Vincenzo at Volturmo, The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery ed. R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, BAR International Series 252, Oxford (1985) for an example of the important results that a combination of archaeology and documentary history can yield. The latter study could be an example for students of mount Latros to follow.
33. Important surveys bearing upon the Byzantine period in Greece have either been carried out or are still in progress in Boeotia, Sparta, Megapolis, Nemea, Keos and the Argolid. So far little except conference communications and preliminary reports has appeared, but see J. L. BINTLIFF, 'The Boeotia Survey' in Archaeological Field Survey in Britain and Abroad ed. S. Macready, F. H. Thompson, The Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Paper N.S. VI, London (1985) 196-216; IDEM 'The Development of Settlement in South-West Boeotia' in La Beotie antique Colloques internationaux du CNRS, Paris (1985) 49-70; IDEM, A. M. SNODGRASS, 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: the First Four Years', Journal of Field Archaeology XII (1985) 123-61; T. VAN ANDEL, C. N. RUNNELS, K. O. POPE, 'Five Thousand Years of Land Use and Abuse in the Southern Argolid' Hesperia LV/1 (1986) 103-28. Otherwise for an overview of survey projects in Greece, see Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area ed. D. R. Keller, D. W. Rupp, BAR International Series 155, Oxford (1983) 207-302.

Unlike Asia Minor, southern and central Greece - that is the Peloponnese, Attica and Boeotia - had slipped out of Imperial control in the 7th century, but even after its recovery from the 8th century there is little to show that it played any important political or economic role until the 11th century when there is considerable evidence for regional vitality: see C. MANGO 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XI siècle et leur signification historique et sociale' TM VI (1976) 351-65; J. L. BINTLIFF, A. M. SNODGRASS op.cit. 149; IDEM, 'The End of the Roman Countryside: A View from the East', in Europe in the First Millennium AD ed. R. F. Jones, BAR International Series, forthcoming (1987?) 6-8 [page reference to article proofs]; A. BON, Le Peloponnese Byzantin jusqu'en 1204 Paris (1951) is still a useful basic guide.
34. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain. A Regional Settlement Study BAR International Series 292, Oxford (1986) is unfortunately no exception.

primary source for the economic and material life of the Byzantine world is bound to be archaeology and numismatics. However these non-literary sources still pose major problems which are far from being solved.

In the first place they offer very little evidence for the rural history of Byzantium. It is generally accepted that the society and economy of the medieval Byzantine Empire was overwhelmingly rural and for over a century important work has been done on the surviving documentary evidence, but this is heavily biased in location toward the estates of the Mount Athos monasteries and in time to the later Byzantine period.[31] Byzantinists are well aware of the revolution in the historiography of early medieval Italy that large field surveys, in particular the British south Etruria survey, have brought about.[32] So far however attempts to follow this example have been continued to Greece which was arguably an untypical area, not of central importance to the Byzantine state until the 11th century.[33] Certainly nothing has been done in the Maeander region.[34]

As a result all the published archaeology is of urban sites.

If one could be sure that one was looking at all the important Byzantine settlements in the region that fulfilled urban functions then it could be argued that the economic level of these sites reflected that of the surrounding rural world. However Byzantine archaeology is only just becoming an autonomous branch of study and bar two churches at Sebaste in the Banaz ovasi, no excavation has been undertaken with Byzantine remains as the primary goal.

35. e.g. Antioch on the Maeander, infra 156 - 65 ;
Philadelphia, infra 73 - 83 ; or Phygella,
infra 112 - 16.
36. For a useful survey of the development of the
archaeology of the Byzantine town, see C. BOURAS 'City
and Village' 611f.

There are four major and nine minor published sites in the Maeander region: Ephesos, Sardis, Miletos and Aphrodisias, and Priene, Magnesia on the Maeander, Iassos, Labraunda, Tralles, Nyssa, Laodicea, Hierapolis and Sebaste. Pergamon is also an important site since although it lies outside the region to the north, it has in the main been well excavated and published. Apart from Sebaste, all these sites were excavated for their classical remains. Numerous others, which would have been of more interest to a Byzantinist, are still untouched. Such sites, which typically do not appear in Constantine Porphyrogenitos' list of the twenty cities, have to be taken into consideration if urban archaeology is to be used as a test of more general regional prosperity.[35]

The subordination of Byzantine archaeology to the classics has also provided little incentive to the solution of peculiarly Byzantine archaeological problems. Until the second world war the usual fate of middle Byzantine levels on classical sites was to be dumped on a spoil tip, recorded perfunctorily if at all. The Byzantine material was recorded on those sites where it was too obvious to ignore, but this has only become general practice since 1945.[36] In some cases this change of heart has come too late, but more important the current methodology of many classical archeologists is still ill-suited to the investigation of Byzantine sites. Classical archaeologists are in the main looking for stone structures rather than those of wood or mud-brick which may leave little more than post holes and the traces of hearth sites. The example of Luni in northern Italy shows what one may be missing. The first excavation apparently showed that the site

37. B. WARD-PERKINS, 'Two Byzantine Houses at Luni', Papers of the British School at Rome XLIX (1981) 91-8.
38. T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks London (1678) 215; J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMANN, Travels through Part of Europe London (1759) I, 113, 136; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East London (1745) II, 37, 71; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor Oxford (1817) 166, 216; W. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches London (1828) 20; C. FELLOWS, A Journal London (1839) 19; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure Paris (1839-49) III, 9, 28-9; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor London (1842) 111. Most modern construction is in concrete but a considerable number of framed and unframed mudbrick structures are still to be seen. In 1982 good examples of framed mudbrick houses were found in the upper parts of Birgi and Tire, both towns in the Cayster valley. See infra
39. J. W. HAYES, Late Roman Pottery London (1972) 323-70, 417-8, 423-7; IDEM, Supplement to Late Roman Pottery London (1980) lix-lxi.
40. The basic works on Byzantine pottery are D. TALBOT RICE, Byzantine Glazed Pottery Oxford (1930); M. A. FRANTZ 'Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens' Hesperia VII (1938) 428-67; C. H. MORGAN, The Byzantine Pottery Corinth XI, Cambridge, Mass. (1942); R. B. K. STEVENSON 'The Pottery 1936-7' in G. BRETT, W. J. MACAULAY, R. B. K. STEVENSON, The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, First Report Oxford (1947) 31-63; T. S. MACKAY 'More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth' Hesperia XXXVI (1967) 249-320; A. H. S. MEGAN 'Zeuippus Ware' BSA LXIII (1968) 67-88; IDEM 'An Early Thirteenth Century Aegean Glazed Ware' in Studies in Memory of David Talbot-Rice, ed. G. Robertson, G. Henderson, Edinburgh (1975) 34-45. The forthcoming publications of the Byzantine pottery from Sarachane in Istanbul, and from Pergamon, will be of great importance.
41. J. L. BINTLIFF 'The Development of Settlement in South-West Boeotia' 66.

had been abandoned in the 5th century, but a second small scale excavation by B. Ward-Perkins, using more careful techniques, revealed the post holes of two 6th century houses.[37] With some honourable exceptions the standard of archaeology in western Turkey has not been high. Bearing in mind the unanimous report of early travellers that before modern Turkey was rebuilt in the breeze-block and concrete, most houses were built of mud-brick, the larger ones with wooden frames and rooves, the smaller and poorer being little more than mud huts,[38] one should treat the negative evidence from medieval buildings with considerable scepticism.

These deficiencies are compounded by the undeveloped nature of Byzantine pottery studies. In the 7th century it is clear that the previously widespread types of late Roman fine wares, both African and Phocaean, disappear[39] to be replaced by a variety of glazed and coarse wares. At present it is possible to identify a number of types of Byzantine glazed wares,[40] but this knowledge has been of little practical use to the archaeologist working in the field trying to identify medieval sites. As J. L. Bintliff has commented in regard to the results for the Byzantine and Turkish periods obtained from the first four years of the Boeotian survey:

"To lump together some twelve centuries of relatively recent history into a single 'period' may seem crude, but even to produce a site-survey map for these centuries, with period subdivisions is something which few if any of our predecessors have been able to achieve, such is the level of 'background' knowledge in this field".[41]

42. D. TALBOT-RICE, Byzantine Glazed Pottery 32-45; C. MORGAN, The Byzantine Pottery Corinth XI, 115-166.
43. D. TALBOT-RICE, op.cit. 31-2; C. MORGAN, op.cit. 23.
44. Infra 61, 166, 238 A particularly distinctive type of elaborate incised ware is found at Tripolis on the Maeander, see infra 155 The ware consists of bowl fragments in pale red fabric. This was then coated inside and out with a white slip and baked. An elaborate geometric pattern was then incised and the bowl was glazed with two types of green glaze and then fired. The final effect is of a brown/brown-green design on a background of two shades of green.
45. The literature on these excavations and surveys is large and growing: as well as T. W. POTTER loc.cit. n. 32 supra, see the bibliography in C. WICKHAM 'Historical and Topographical Notes on Early Medieval South Etruria, (Part One)' Papers of the British School at Rome XXXIII (1978) 132-3; D. ANDREWS, J. OSBORNE, D. WHITEHOUSE, Medieval Lazio, Studies in architecture, painting and ceramics Papers in Italian Archaeology III, BAR International Series 125 (1982) is an example of how detailed excavation and survey work together.
46. D. B. WHITEHOUSE 'Forum Ware: A distinctive type of early medieval glazed pottery from the Roman Campagna', Medieval Archaeology IX (1965) 55-63; IDEM 'Forum Ware Again' Medieval Ceramics IV (1980) 13-16. Some recent research has suggested that Forum ware was produced in the 6th century, D. B. WHITEHOUSE, 'Medieval Pottery from South Etruria' in D. ANDREWS, J. OSBORNE, D. WHITEHOUSE, Medieval Lazio 327-33, but one should note that this view has no reliable excavated context and neither, an 8th-9th century date nor even two types of 'Forum Ware' - a late Roman and an early medieval - should be ruled out. Current excavation tends to confirm the 8th-9th century date.

There are exceptions to this ignorance. The various types of elaborate incised and sgraffito ware appear after about 1050 and are likely to be 12th or 13th century in date.[42] Yet it is still difficult to put this information to use. These elaborate wares required two firings and must have been relatively expensive.[43] 12th/13th century incised ware is to be found on Maeander region sites[44] but it can never have been a very common pottery and it is impossible to draw firm conclusions from its absence.

For such identifiable yet expensive wares as these to be a valuable asset in exploring the Byzantine settlements of the Maeander region they would have to be placed in the context of the whole range of contemporary pottery from the most expensive table ware to the humble cooking pot.

As yet this can only be done to a limited degree for Constantinople, Corinth and perhaps Athens, but there are areas where there has been no field survey to put this evidence to use. The problem can be well illustrated by comparison with the work done in Italy, where a fundamental achievement of the south Etruria and subsequent surveys has been the way excavation and survey have gone hand in hand. Pottery has been excavated in stratified contexts in Rome and the knowledge so gained has been put to use in surveys of the Roman Campagna.[45]

For those working on the early medieval period in south Etruria the key development took place in the 1960s when a distinctive glazed ware, known as Forum ware, was dated with some confidence to the 8th-9th century.[46] This pottery was fairly

47. D. WHITEHOUSE, 'Medieval Pottery from South Etruria' 329.
48. H. PATTERSON, 'The Late Roman and Early Medieval Pottery from Molise' in San Vincenzo al Volturno ed. R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, 83-4, 93-6.
49. San Vincenzo al Volturno 1, 3, 101, 105.
50. D. P. S. PEACOCK, Pottery in the Roman World: an ethnoarchaeological approach London(1982) 75-88.
51. ibid. 62-5; 'Red Painted and Glazed Pottery in Western Europe from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century' ed. J. G. Hurst, Medieval Archaeology XIII (1969) 93-147.
52. ibid; D. P. S. PEACOCK, Pottery in the Roman World 152-9; H. BLAKE 'Medieval Pottery: Technical Innovation or Economic Change?' in Papers in Italian Archaeology I ed. H. McK. Blake, T. W. Potter, D. B. Whitehouse, BAR Supplementary Series 41/ii (1978) 438-41.
53. An interesting study pointing the way in this direction is E. M. JOPE 'The Regional Cultures of Medieval Britain' in Culture and Environment, Essays in Honour of Sir Cyril Fox ed. I. LL. FOSTER, L. ALCOCK, London (1963) 327-50. Once the preliminary work has been done the study of pottery, building types and sculpture offers similar possibilities in the Byzantine world.

common and production was centred on Rome.[47] Away from Rome surveyors had to face difficult problems. In Molise, for example, 200 kilometres south-east of Rome, neither Forum ware nor any of the other types of pottery familiar from Roman excavations was to be found. Once the sequence of identifiable late Roman wares had stopped the surveyors had to construct their own pottery sequence based on local excavations at San Vincenzo at Volturmo, Colle Castellano and Santa Maria in Civit .[48]

This distinction between the pottery found at Molise and that seen in the Roman Campagna reflects the former's separation from the regional economy to the north which looked to Rome as a market and producer.[49] Yet Molise was no exception. In the Roman world coarse cooking pots had usually been of local manufacture,[50] but in the early middle ages even the table ware tended to come from the same local or regional source. Unlike the smooth slip fine wares of the late Roman world, glazed pottery is comparatively easy to make, and throughout the middle ages there were innumerable types produced to serve limited regions all over Europe and the Middle East.[51] Some of this pottery was traded, sometimes quite extensively, but never on the scale familiar from the Roman world.[52] The regional nature of much of medieval pottery does offer the prospect of being able to shed light on the workings of a regional economy,[53] but even if one wishes to do more than use pottery as a guide to chronology of settlement it still requires a knowledge of the locally produced pottery sequence peculiar to that particular region.

This applies as much to the Byzantine world as to Italy or further west. Hence the pottery recorded from stratified contexts

54. The best example of this is the Brown-glazed ware found in Constantinople and Corinth, C. MORGAN, The Byzantine Pottery Corinth XI, 36-42; R. B. K. STEVENSON 'The Pottery 1936-7' 36-7. The ware has been compared with Forum Ware, but since there has been no survey work near Constantinople it has not played a similar role in historians' thinking. The two wares appear to be related, but in what way is not clear and a 6th century date (see n. 46 supra) adds to the obscurity. c.f. R. B. K. STEVENSON 'Medieval lead-glazed pottery: links between east and west' Cahiers Archéologique VII (1954) 89-94: independent developments perhaps seem more likely, see K. KILMURRY, The Pottery Industry of Stamford, Lincs. c. AD 850-1250 BAR British Series 84 (1980) 180-1.
55. One group of pottery which may be early is represented by the dark red very coarse sherds of a gritty fabric which seem to be a distinctive feature of the Byzantine sites in the Maeander region. They are almost certainly cooking pots, c.f. T. S. MACKAY 'More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth' 288-300. Dating will probably have to await some future publication of the Aphrodisias finds.
56. An important advance in Byzantine pottery studies is signified by A. H. S. MEGAN, R. E. JONES 'Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to the Problems of Origin and Distribution' BSA LXXVIII (1983) 235-63. The use of such techniques is one of the factors behind the sophistication of pottery studies in England, e.g. A. G. VINCE 'The Saxon and medieval pottery of London: A review' Medieval Archaeology XXIX (1985) 25-93.
- In another field of Byzantine Studies important basic work is being done on fortification and wall types, e.g. C. FOSS, Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kutahya, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph No. 7, BAR International Series 261, Oxford (1985); C. FOSS, D. WINFIELD, Byzantine Fortifications, An Introduction Pretoria (1985) is not as yet available.
57. e.g. C. FOSS 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity' EHR XC (1975) 721-47; IDEM 'The fall of Sardis and the value of evidence' JÖB XXXIV (1975) 11-22.
58. M. HENDY, Studies in Byzantine Monetary Economy 175-201. 221-7, 378-80, 602-13, 640-3.

at Constantinople or Corinth will only be of much value to surveys centred on these particular cities. On the slight evidence available Constantinopolitan wares were traded in small quantities, but there is nothing as yet to suggest this was anything other than very limited in scale before at least the 11th/12th century.[54]

A small amount of identifiable Byzantine pottery is visible on sites throughout the Maeander region and much more, particularly coarse ware, is there if one only knew what it looked like.[55] In the Maeander the outlook is perhaps more optimistic than elsewhere. The pottery from Pergamon and Sardis is due to be published, and even more important large quantities of Byzantine pottery from recorded levels at Aphrodisias awaits cataloguing. Once both are published Byzantine archaeologists in this region will at last have in their hands one of the basic tools.[56]

As yet however the pottery is of only limited assistance and archaeologists and historians have tended to turn instead to coin finds as a basis for their chronology.[57] This is reasonable up to the early 7th century but in fact the coins disappear at the same moment as the late Roman fine wares. This has been interpreted as evidence for the abandonment or at least extreme contraction of associated settlements but it is not clear that this is not a circular argument linked to the lack of dateable pottery. As a recent work on the Byzantine monetary economy suggested, it could be argued that because from the 3rd century AD onwards coinage was a central government monopoly, produced to pay soldiers and officials, the disappearance of coins reflects a crisis in central government rather than a shift in settlement pattern.[58]

A recitation of the deficiencies of the available sources is not a negative as it might appear. In the long term many of the deficiencies of the archaeology could be remedied, but more important in the present context such a critical survey provides the basis for a reassessment of the evidence that will suggest wider implications for the region's social and political history.

1. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain (1986) 1-14, 252-95, 302-26; A. H. M. JONES, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 2nd edn. Oxford (1971) 28-94; IDEM, The Greek City Oxford (1940) 259-60, 271-4.
2. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977) 469-86; see also supra n. 2.
3. Three Byzantine Military Treatises ed. G. T. Dennis, Washington (1985) 144-239.

CHAPTER THREE Continuity or Flight? I: The Example of Sardis.

The Roman settlement pattern of the Maeander region was based on a network of cities. The cities themselves fitted into a regional hierarchy but each city was to some extent an independent entity exploiting a surrounding territory of productive agricultural and pastoral land. The territory also supported a number of villages but many of the farming population actually lived in the city and there was no question that that was the cultural centre of the territory and its pre-eminent centre of population. Roman villages existed only as satellites of the city.

Over the region as a whole this pattern formed a dense network which was the key to exploitation of the region's natural prosperity.[1]

C. Foss has established that the urban culture of the Late Roman world did not survive the 7th century. Cities drastically contracted in size or were abandoned and it has been inferred that the Byzantine period saw a new settlement pattern of dispersed villages and rural estates whose population looked to hill top castles and refuge sites in time of crisis. The Roman city sites were now only inhabited as one amongst many village settlements, marked out by the wreckage of past glories and the residence of an appropriately poverty stricken bishop, but otherwise looking to the same places of refuge as anyone else.[2]

This impression appears to be confirmed by the Peri Paradromes, a 10th century treatise on skirmishing warfare,[3] and by the Islamic sources. Both present a picture of medieval Asia Minor as a land of villages and fortresses. The Peri Paradromes never mentions a city, while the testimony of the Islamic sources

4. Hudud al'Alam: The Regions of the World, trans. V. Minorsky, Oxford (1937) 157, quoted in M. HENDY, 'Byzantium, 1081-1204: An Economic Reappraisal' TRHS 5th series XX (1970) 35-6.
5. A. MIQUEL, La Géographie Humaine de Monde Musulman loc.cit. supra n. 30.
6. A. H. M. JONES, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 134-46, 174-90, 191-214; S. MITCHELL, 'Population and Land in Roman Galatia' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt VII/2 (1980)
7. R-J. LILIE, Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber 133-55, 339-47, also 358: although misleading as a map - and not only for the site of Ephesos - it does express Lilie's thesis which on this point is certainly correct; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 23-6, 188-237.

can be summed up by the Hudud al-alam, a 10th century Persian text: "In the days of old cities were numerous in Rum but now they have become few. Most of the districts are prosperous and pleasant and have each an extremely strong fortress, on account of the frequency of the raids which the fighters for the faith direct upon them. To each village appertains a castle where in times of flight they may take shelter".[4]

The Arabic and Persian geographical tradition is far from being one of objective reporting and such a statement may reflect no more than the perspective of the thriving urban culture of the 9th-10th century Islamic world.[5] In this case however the judgement seems to be confirmed by the Peri Paradromes, but in fact there is no reason to believe that this picture refers to more than the mountains on the eastern frontier and the central Anatolian plateau. These were areas to which the urban culture of the ancient world came late and they never supported the dense network of cities found for example on the west coast.[6] Moreover the Byzantine response to the chronic Arab raiding which had developed over the two centuries before these texts were written, was one of a flexible defence in depth. On the central plateau Arab armies would be shadowed, major engagements avoided and their booty hopefully evacuated in advance. Under such conditions the Roman settlement pattern would have had little chance of survival. Flexible defence, however, stopped with the belt of mountains which ring the central plateau and separate it from the coastal plains. Here were many of the great Byzantine fortresses and the homelands of the military families; here was where the Byzantine armies were prepared to stand and fight.[7]

8. For an account of Byzantine-Arab warfare up to 959 see A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes trans. M. Canard II/1 Brussels (1968). By 959 the era of Arab raids towards the west of Asia Minor were long over.

9. Most Muslim geographers writing about the Byzantine Empire in the 9th to the 11th century used the report produced by a certain Muslim 6. Abi Muslim al-Garmi, who had been a prisoner of war of the Byzantines before being released in an exchange in 845. The report is attributed to al-Garmi by Ibn Khurdadhbih, but al-Mas'udi, writing in the 10th century gives the fullest notice:

"He was a man who held a post on the frontier and was possessed of knowledge as to the people of the Romans and their country; and he wrote books containing information about the Romans and their kings and the men of rank among them, and their districts and roads and ways through them, and the times of making raids into their country and invasions of it ..."

IBN KHURDADHBIH, Kitab al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum VI, Leiden (1889) 77, 144, 192-200; MACOUDI, Le Livre de l'Avertissement et de la Revision trans. B. Carra de Vaux, Societe Antique, Paris (1896) 240-4, 257.

10. St. Gregory the Decapolite appears to have had an uncomfortable time in early 9th century Byzantium because he looked like an Arab, C. MANGO, Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome London (1980) 31; IDEM 'On Re-reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite' Byzantina XIII/1 (1985) 637; F. DVORNIK, La Vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves Macedoniens au ix^e siècle Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'études Slaves V, Paris (1926) 47, 53-4, 58.

11. G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments outside the City Walls Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Report I, Cambridge, Mass. (1975) 32-4; C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' 475-7; G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times Cambridge, Mass. (1983) 14-16.

The Maeander region lay immediately beyond the mountain belt. In the 10th century Arab raiders did not reach this far west and hence the conditions envisaged by the Peri Paradromes do not refer to this area.[8] Similarly Islamic geographers drew for their descriptions of the land of the infidels on the experience of ghazi warriors.[9] Since at least until the 11th or 12th century Muslims were not easily tolerated visitors to Byzantium,[10] there was an obvious tendency to apply a description of the central plateau to the land of Rum as a whole. In the absence of a reliable description of the Byzantine Maeander region, the case for a dramatic change in settlement pattern has to rest on archaeology, and with no conclusive field survey this again means the fragmentary evidence available for the region's ancient cities and medieval castles.

In particular the key example, which has provided a model for the rest of the region, is Sardis where an American team has carried out a careful if limited excavation since 1958. They have suggested that following a Persian sack in 616 the lower city was abandoned and any surviving inhabitants took refuge in the hastily constructed acropolis castle set on an eroded peak which dominated the site. Over the following two hundred and fifty years settlement on the site of the former lower city amounted to no more than a few isolated villages or hamlets.[11]

The American excavation of Sardis has been extremely thorough, hence the conclusions of its excavators have carried a great deal of weight. However within the late Roman walls only the Gymnasium complex has been excavated and this constitutes less than a twentieth of the area within the circuit. The Gymnasium was destroyed by fire in the early 7th century and subsequently

12. F. K. YEGUL, The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis
Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Report III,
Cambridge, Mass. (1986) 1-16.
13. c.f. C. FOSS, 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the end
of Antiquity' EHR XC (1975) 736-8.
14. See B. WARD-PERKINS, From Classical Antiquity to the
Middle Ages: urban public buildings in northern and
central Italy, AD 300-850 Oxford (1984) 3-48
; D. CLAUDE, Die byzantinische Stadt im 6.
Jahrhundert Munich (1969).
15. R. CORMACK, 'The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine
Provincial City: the Evidence of Thessalonike and
Aphrodisias' in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition
107, 108-16; see infra 155 -6.

abandoned,[12] but it is far from certain either that this can be linked to a Persian attack or that it should be interpreted as part of a total abandonment of the lower city. The case for the Persian sack seems to rest on nothing more than a chronological coincidence with a period of such raids about which very little is known.[13] The fire could just as well have had more mundane causes. If that were so then the example of other cities at this period is relevant since that suggests that when such monumental structures were destroyed by accident they were not repaired nor even re-used but simply left as redundant ruins. This seems to have applied not only to those buildings which were already redundant but also to those which had still been in use. The cultural tide was running against buildings such as gymnasias, and, even if civic inertia had previously tolerated the traditional payments made towards their upkeep, there was no incentive to restore them after a disastrous accident.[14] A ruined gymnasium was simply a huge pile of rubble which was too difficult to remove and not worth the effort of reuse. The daily life of the settlement carried on around it.

One example comes from a city in the region, Aphrodisias, in the valley of Dandalas, a southern tributary of the Maeander. As the Roman public buildings fell into decay, their fallen ruins gradually blocked the streets of the ancient city. The Byzantine population made no attempt to move them and the medieval settlement adapted itself to these new obstacles. Thus in Aphrodisias the ruin of the public buildings is no evidence of abandonment.[15] The most striking example however is Constantinople itself. Medieval Constantinople was full of the abandoned ruins of the Roman public buildings which had been built

16. C. MANGO, Le Développement Urbain de Constantinople (IV^e-VII^e siècles) Paris (1985) 51-62; G. DAGRON, Constantinople Imaginaire. Etudes sur le recueil de Patria Paris (1984) passim; Constantinople In the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai ed. A. Cameron, J. Herrin, Leiden (1984) passim.
17. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 57; G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Monograph I, Cambridge, Mass. (1971) 113-20, 156-9; F. K. YEGÜL, The Bath-Gymnasium Complex 16, 17-18, 89-90; the road: BASOR CLXVI (1962) 45-6.
18. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 641-2.
19. F. K. YEGÜL, The Bath-Gymnasium Complex 14-16, 40-44, 51, 70, 78, 83, 91, 94, 104.

on a scale appropriate to an Imperial capital. The awe and suspicion they aroused is evident throughout the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai and the Patria Constantinopoleos, which are both to an extent commentaries on what it is like to live in a city dominated by the ruins of a mysterious and ill-understood past. Even the huge Constantinian Senate house, erected on the north side of Constantine's forum was never repaired after it was gutted by fire in 465. Its blackened fire damaged portico was still visible in the 10th century, a ruin at one of the ceremonial centres of the Imperial city.[16]

The Gymnasium site was never re-developed but even its ruins do contain some evidence of activity in the early and middle Byzantine period. During the later 7th century some rooms were temporarily re-occupied and 85 copper coins of Constans II (641-68) and two of Constantine IV (668-85) were found in association with the building of a new road.[17] The coins and road are almost certain evidence for the presence of an army unit,[18] but that sheds no particular light on conditions elsewhere in the lower city. The Gymnasium may simply have been a convenient shelter amidst a field of deserted ruins.

That there may have been more to early Byzantine Sardis is suggested by the presence of a number of limekilns in the Gymnasium ruins. One of these can be dated to the 7th century, and two to the 10th-11th century, but the other three seem to belong to an intervening period.[19]

At whatever date, lime burning in the Gymnasium ruins implies a substantial settlement in the lower city. Lime burning

20. ibid. 145 n. 39.
21. ibid. 145-6.
22. ibid. 91.
23. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 50, 73.
24. ibid 74; F. YEGÜL, op.cit. 46-7, 77-8.

is a very simple activity.[20] There was a great deal of suitable marble around in Byzantine Sardis and for small amounts it was convenient to burn whatever lay to hand. This is the practice of modern Turkish peasants. The concentration of lime kilns in the Gymnasium reflects the mass of marble statuary to be found in such a place,[21] and the fact that it was otherwise abandoned. The dirt and danger of fire from the kilns would do no harm there. Yet such advantages would only be real if there had been the steady demand for lime created by an active settlement, making it worthwhile to exploit the quantities of marble available in the Gymnasium, and also sufficient pressure on space to encourage the lime burners to occupy these rather unstable ruins.[22] The presence of lime kilns in the Gymnasium also shows that the demand for lime was focused on the ancient lower city. Had most of the lime been destined for the acropolis then the temple site in the Pactolus south sector would have been much more convenient.[23]

Unfortunately this is not a decisive argument because the relevant stratigraphy in the Gymnasium was disturbed and the dating of the lime kilns only rests on two associated coins, one of Leo IV (775-80) and one of Theophilos (829-42).[24] However three other structures, elsewhere in the lower city, help to confirm the picture of a substantial settlement continuing throughout the so-called Dark age.

One is church E in the Pactolus North Sector outside the city wall to the west. The site is now occupied by a 13th century domed structure but the original church was a large 4th century three aisled and wooden roofed basilica. Had this building been

25. G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 196-204, 206-7; H. BUCHWALD, 'Sardis Church E-A Preliminary Report' JOB XXXVI (1977) 265-99; BASOR CCXI (1973) 17-19 ibid. CCXV (1974) 33-41; c.f. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 74; J. A. SCOTT, D. C. KAMILLI, 'Late Byzantine Glazed Pottery from Sardis' in Actes du XVe Congres International d'Etudes Byzantines, II/B, Athens (1981) strongly argues for a period of near desertion on the basis that "no pottery ... can be dated earlier than the later half of the 12th century". In particular for church E she writes: "The picture that emerges is one of a scattered population keeping the church in repair as best they could and seeking in death the security that eluded then in life through burial in its environs." The drawback with this interpretation is that it rests solely on identifiable glazed wares. The coarse wares were not originally recorded (ibid. 681 n. 4) and cannot in any case be identified. That the pottery finds here seem to record is merely the appearance of glazed wares. It also tends to ignore the local and regional nature of the pottery industry. The absence of early Constantinopolitan types will have to be proved to be significant, rather than taken for granted, ibid. 680-1, n. 2; see supra 42.
26. G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 196; H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I, The Excavations Leiden (1922) 33; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 34, 39, 60 75; 165 n. 55.
27. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 60, 75.

abandoned for any length of time the roof would soon have collapsed and a major rebuilding would have been necessary before an re-use was possible. Such a fate did eventually overtake the building. In the 9th century it seems that a new roof was erected but by the 11th century the church appears to have been abandoned with the narthex used as a dwelling. By contrast for the two centuries before the 9th, the church had been kept in use by a series of minor makeshift repairs. Therefore during the early Byzantine period Church E was neither destroyed by fire nor abandoned. Its survival is likely to have been the work of a continuing community.[25]

The same applies to the other and larger basilica of late Roman Sardis, Church D, a 6th century structure inside the walls just to the east of the centre of the city. Its size suggests it may have been the Cathedral. This area has not been excavated, but the find of a 9th/10th century funerary inscription just to the south of the church implies that the building was in use at that date. Since there is no indication of a major re-building of this church, the survival of a wooden roofed basilica again points to a continuous occupation.[26] Five hundred yards to the south of Church D on one of the early foothills of the acropolis is an unpublished and unexcavated structure which the Report labels Building A. I have not examined this structure but there is a suggested date of between the 7th and 9th century.[27]

This evidence is admittedly slight and could be fitted into several models for the 7th-9th century settlement but it is an important corrective to the impression of total devastation which

28. 'Fragmentum chronici anonymi auctoris ad annum domini 813 pertinentia' ed. E. W. Brooks, Corpus Scriptorum Christiani Orientalis, Scriptorum Syri III/3, Part 3, Paris (1905) 10; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 118-19.
29. THEOPHANES 390-1, mentions the fact that the Arabs wintered in Asia and that they took Pergamon.

can be gained from looking at the fate of the Gymnasium and the coinage evidence. Leaving aside the enigmatic Building A, the survival of two basilica churches points to a community rather above the level of a village. Given a very poor standard of material life there is nothing to show that Sardis did not survive continuously on the same site.

Attention has been diverted from this point by a failure to appreciate fully the significance of the acropolis castle which is one of the most important surviving Byzantine buildings in the region. The key text for an understanding of this fortress is the following notice for the year 716 in a 9th century Syriac chronicle:

"In the year 1027 [Seleucid era = 716 AD] Suleiman assembled troops and workmen and they went by sea and encamped in Asia; and they took two cities, Sardis and Pergamon, and other fortresses ..."[28]

There is no reason to think that this Syriac Chronicler was particularly well informed about western Asia Minor and there is nothing to be gained from a close examination of his words, such as his distinction between 'city' and 'fortress', but he has preserved at least the main points of an accurate account of the early 8th century which can be confirmed from other sources.[29] In it the fortress of Sardis is highlighted as one of the principle strongholds of the Byzantines whose capture is one of the Caliph's most famous triumphs. He also places the fortress in its proper strategic context.

Examination of the site in the light of this text proves that the chronicler was referring to the acropolis castle and that

See G. HUXLEY, Why did the Byzantine Empire not fall to the the Arabs? Inaugural Lecture, Athens (1986) 3-14.

that was an Imperial fortress built to face a particular strategic crisis at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century. Until the appearance of the Turks at the end of the 11th century the history of the acropolis has almost nothing directly to do with the history of the lower city. The castles at Sardis and Pergamon, which the chronicler also mentions, are both irrelevant to the understanding of the overall settlement pattern of the Maeander region.

The context of Suleiman's assembly of an army and workmen, and his journey by sea to Asia, that is western Asia Minor, is the background of the second Arab siege of Constantinople which lasted from 716 to 718.[30] Due to the enormous size of Asia Minor west of the Taurus and to Constantinople's position at the furthest north western extremity any serious threat to the Byzantine capital had to involve Arab armies wintering in Asia Minor. Furthermore a successful siege of Constantinople would be greatly dependant on the Arab ability to support a large army and fleet in the vicinity over several campaigning seasons. Some supplies could be brought by sea but it was much more reliable to live off local produce where possible. Given the harsh winter climate of the central plateau the natural Arab strategy on such a campaign would be to seize part of the western Asia Minor coastlands. The Maeander region, a good agricultural area with useful ports and within easy reach of the east, was an obvious target. Hence the Caliph's presence there in 716.

Despite the fragmentary sources for the period one can see this strategy being put into operation not only in 716 but before

31. THEOPHANES 345-6, 348, 351, 353-4; E. W. BROOKS, 'The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources' JHS XIX (1899) 23, 28, 29.
32. THEOPHANES 390-1, 395-9; E. W. BROOKS, op.cit. 192, 195; IDEM? 'The Campaign of 716-718, from Arabic Sources' JHS XVIII (1898) 23, 28, 29.
33. See G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis 18-22; G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 1-12; for the natural advantages of the acropolis hill see infra 56f. and H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 19-21.

each of the Arab attempts to capture the Imperial city. In 653, the year before Muawiya's abortive expedition to Constantinople, the Arabs overran Rhodes and for ten years before the next attempt, which lasted from 674 to 678, Arab armies wintered in Asia Minor. The Arab sources are not very clear as to where they wintered but Theophanes does record that an Arab army spent the winter of 670/1 at Cyzikos and that another spent the winter of 672/3 at Smyrna.[31] There followed a lull due to the second civil war in the Islamic world, but forty-three years later, Theophanes confirms the Syriac Chronicler in recording that the Arabs spent the two winters of the 716-18 siege in western Asia Minor.[32]

In the event the Arabs failed but they were plainly following the right strategy. Had they managed to establish a permanent control over the coastlands of western Asia Minor then Constantinople would probably have been doomed. The Byzantines can be expected to have realized this and to have taken appropriate defensive measures.

A major fortress at Sardis would have been an obvious part of any Byzantine response. The acropolis hill is an excellent defensive site and the public buildings of Roman Sardis would have been available as first class building material. Set above one of the best routes from the central plateau down to the coastlands a fortress there would have been ideally placed to contest Arab control of the Hermos valley and threaten communications with the east.[33]

The Byzantine problem was the inferiority of their field

34. Three Byzantine Military Treatises 144-239; see also J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 188-238.
35. R. C. SMALL, Crusading Warfare 1097-1193 Cambridge (1956) 204-15; a good example of this role in practice is given by Ibn 'Abd az-Zahir in his account of the fall of al-Marqab in 1285: F. GABRIELI, Arab Historians of the Crusades London (1969) 334.

army when faced with the Islamic armies in pitched battle. In the raiding warfare which was a chronic feature of the Byzantine-Arab borderlands between the 7th and the 10th century the Byzantines learnt to counter this problem. The mobile, skirmishing warfare described in the 10th century military handbook, the Peri Paradromes, [34] was a major factor in the very survival of the Empire over these centuries. However if the Caliph were to occupy western Asia Minor and thence capture Constantinople such mobile warfare would be of little avail.

The problem is to some extent paralleled by the experience of the Crusaders in Outremer in the 12th and especially the 13th century. The Crusader response was the construction of massive fortifications, such as Karak in Moab, Crac des Chevaliers or Marqab, which allowed a very small garrison to defy a much more powerful besieging army. The castle would be a base from which the Crusaders would carry on an aggressive mobile war and by this means they were able to maintain their control over the territory surrounding the castle despite the temporary military superiority of a succession of Islamic field armies. [35]

Some awareness of this strategy is evident in the Peri Paradromes although it was written with rather different military problems in mind. In this work the civilian population may take refuge in nearly fortresses (kastra), but it is intended that most will seek safety in the mountains. However the kastra have a similarly vital role in providing the hard points of a flexible defence. The author gives the example of the fortress of Misthea, on the southern shore of Beyşehirgölü, which was vainly besieged by a very large invading army from the Cilician Emirate of Tarsos.

36. Three Byzantine Military Treatises 164, 218-20, 222-6; see also ibid. 302-4; for Misthea, see K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4, Vienna (1984) 205-206.
37. Published information on the acropolis excavations since 1960 is to be found in BASOR CLXII (1961) 32-9; ibid. CLXVI (1962) 35-9; ibid. CLXX (1963) 31-7, 60; ibid. CLXXVII (1965) 8; ibid. CCVI (1972) 15-20; ibid. CCXV (1974) 31-3; Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research XLIII (1976) 67-9; BASOR CCXXVIII (1977) 48-50; G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 43-7.

While the enemy was so occupied, the smaller Byzantine field army took the opportunity to raid Cilicia itself thus forcing the enemy to return to the defence of their homeland.[36]

With so much at stake for the Byzantines such a fortress in western Asia Minor would have to be set on an outstanding defensive site overlooking an important agricultural area which the Arabs would want to exploit. The fortress would have to be large enough to hold a garrison sufficient not only for its own defence but also so as to wage guerrilla warfare against the Caliph's army. This is exactly what one finds on the acropolis hill at Sardis.

The fortress at Sardis was excavated in part during the early 1960s[37] but unfortunately the full report of this work has still to appear. Its ruins raise problems of dating and interpretation which cannot as yet be satisfactorily solved, but even so enough is clear for it to be certain that this was the goal of Suleiman's campaign in 716 and that it had been built on the orders of the Imperial government to deny the Maeander region to the Caliph's armies.

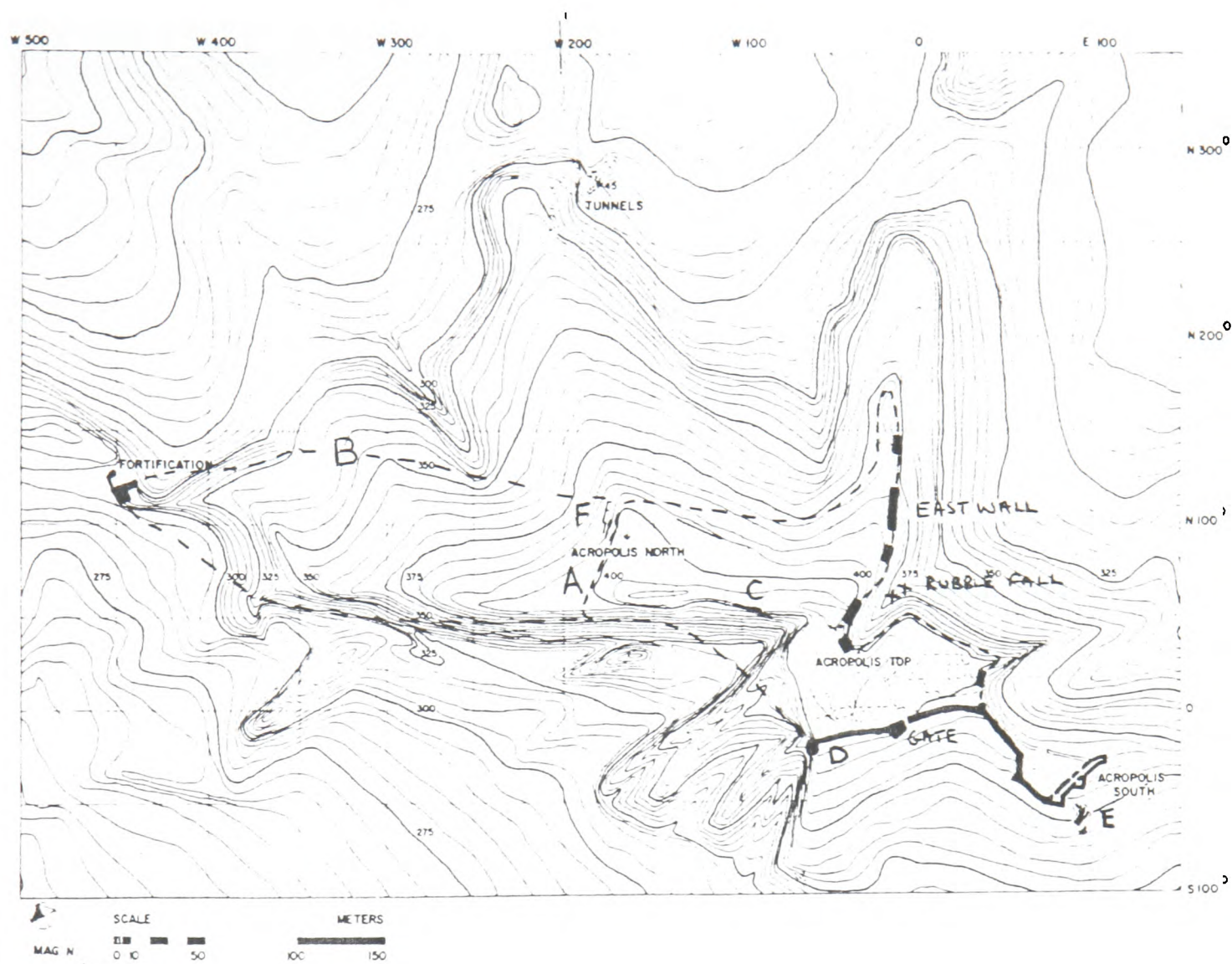


Fig. I. THE ACROPOLIS CASTLE AT SARDIS.

The acropolis castle occupies a heavily eroded peak of a sandy conglomerate which forms part of a high terrace separating the Hermos valley from the Tmolos range to the south. These sandy hills rise to over 400 metres with precipitous cliffs and gullies caused by water erosion but possibly made more extreme by landslips due to earthquakes to which this area is prone. As one

38.

H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 19-21; the discussion is otherwise based on three days spent at Sardis in the spring of 1985.

can see from the plan (fig. I), the acropolis hill is sheer on the south side and very steep on all the other sides save to the south east where it is merely steep. From the north side, having an initial cliff, the site rises steadily at about 40 degrees until one reaches a high central ridge. Beyond this to the south east is the only area of fairly level ground, amounting to about half a hectare.[38]

Aside from the ancient Lydian fortification of which fragments survive at E and F on the plan, the Byzantine fortifications fall into two or possibly three phases. The largest section is that which starts at the great south bastion in the acropolis south sector and extends west to tower D, and north along the line of the east wall. These walls which still rise in places to over 9 metres in height, are on average 4 metres thick and are constructed of an outer and inner face of large spolia blocks of ashlar and marble. The southern stretch of this wall is well preserved unlike the east wall. However the surviving fragments of the latter and the fallen rubble in the gully to the east of the acropolis top sector leave no doubt that this was part of the same phase. The whole was built with great skill and professional expertise. Most important is the south bastion made up of three prow shaped towers with large openings designed for a balista battery whose field of fire would have covered the whole south eastern approach. The upper part of the bastion including a supporting gallery to the rear was constructed of very neatly laid brick. Above the battery level there appears to have been a further, possibly enclosed, fighting level again constructed of brick. The great thickness of the walls throughout, together with

39. For this and other features see, D. PRINGLE, The Defences of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest BAR International Series 99, Oxford (1981) I, 133-4, 137, 147-8, 149-52; W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien Denkmäler Antiker Architektur II, Berlin (1976) figs. 11, 13, 18, 59; M. WHITBY, 'Procopius' Description of Dara (Buildings II, 1-3)' in The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy, BAR International Series 297 (1986) 755-7; R. J. H. JENKINS, H. MEGAW, 'Researches at Isthmia' BSA XXXII (1931-2) 69-71; V. KONDIĆ, 'Les Formes des Fortifications, Protobyzantines dans la région des Portes de Fer' in Ville et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin Collection de l'école Française de Rome 77 (1984) 135, 138-40; V. KONDIĆ, V. POPOVIĆ, Caričin Grad, Belgrade (1977) 42-5; R. F. HODDINOTT, Bulgaria in Antiquity London (1975).
40. See H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I ills. pp. 19 - 21 ; G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis fig. 24.
41. J.-M. SPIESER, Thessalonique et ses Monuments du IV^e au VI^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne Paris (1984) 68-70.

the quantities of brick rubble found on the eastern slopes makes it likely that the brick upper level of the south bastion was extended over the whole length of the wall. By comparison with 6th century military works on the eastern frontier, in the Balkans and in Africa, this would probably have taken the form of an enclosed brick fighting level.[39]

At the furthest western end of the hill is another small section of fortification. It is built of the same high quality spolia facing with a mortared rubble core as the surviving southern section but it is distinguished by bands of brick work, six courses thick, on the outer facing. This difference in technique may suggest that it constitutes part of a different phase in the acropolis fortifications, possibly that of a repair or extension shortly after the original construction.[40] Equally this section may represent no more than the work of a different building team. The example of the late Roman walls at Thessalonika where two army units each used a different technique when working at the same time on the same circuit of walls shows that a different building technique does not necessarily prove a separate phase.[41] Here at Sardis too little survives of this western wall and it is in too dangerous a position to be certain. The question has to remain open.

However, the small stretch of mortared field stone rubble wall marked C on the plan is definitely part of a separate phase. It is only about one metre thick and includes broken brick fragments in the mortar. Walls of this type are common throughout the middle ages but other evidence to be discussed below shows that it must date to between the 11th and 14th centuries and

42.

Ill. in H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 19 shows there has been little evident erosion of this section since 1910-14. This would tend to support the case for an earthquake as the major cause of destruction, see infra 60.

probably to the earlier part of that period. It is also important to note that unlike the western section where erosion has made the original course of the walls a matter of complete conjecture, this wall was built when the erosion of the south cliff was only slightly less advanced than it is today.[42]

The lack of a full published report of the acropolis excavations is found to make the dating and interpretation of the walls provisional. Current projects on Byzantine fortifications may also alter some of the detailed conclusions. However working from what has been published to date and what is visible on site these appear to have been at least three phases of Byzantine occupation.

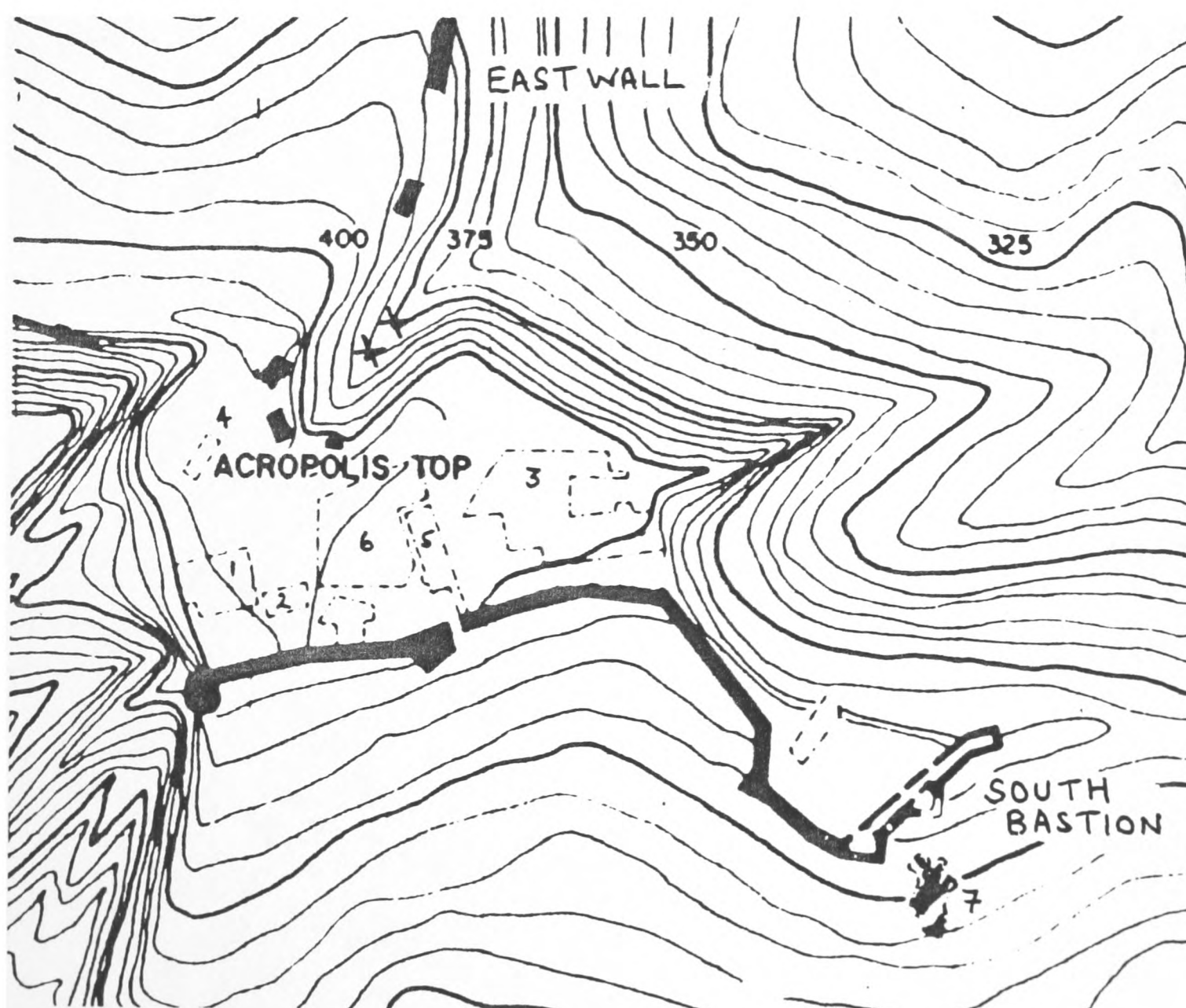


Fig. II. ACROPOLIS EXCAVATIONS, 1960-62.

For key to numbers see over.

43. BASOR CLXII (1961) 33-4, 37; *ibid.* CLXVI (1962) 35-40; *ibid.* CLXX (1963) 32-3; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 61.

44. G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins nr. 651, 75; nr. 1089, 118; nrs. 1092 and 1099, 119; nr. 1103, 121; nr. 1128, 126.

- Key - 1. Trench A, 1960.
2. Trench B, 1960.
3. Trench C, 1960, extended 1962.
4. Trench D, 1960.
5. Trench E, 1960.
6. Central Terrace, 1961.
7. Lydian fortifications.

The first occupation phase consists of a well built brick cistern in the north part of trench C and some very fragmentary walls in the central terrace area. Its abandonment can be dated to before the 11th century since several 11th century graves cut through this level and if the evidence of trench E is correct, where an extraordinary amount of sand and gravel fill was discovered, it may be connected to a major earthquake and landslip.[43] Six coins were found associated with this phase. The earliest was a follis of Maurice, struck at Cyzikos in 589/90; the most recent a follis of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos dated to 945. The others are three folleis of Constans II dating from between 655 and 664, and a nomisma struck in Justinian II's second reign between 705 and 711.[44] This building phase either followed another earthquake or, it seems more likely, involved the deliberate removal down to the level of the natural conglomerate of all previous structures on the site. The brick construction of the cistern makes it almost certain that the walls and the south bastion were built at the same time.

The second phase dates to the 11th century. There are numerous graves and the indications of a dense network of poor quality housing. One of the graves contained a bronze medallion

45. BASOR CLXII (1961) 33; *ibid.* CLXVI (1962) 38-40;
G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins nr. 1169, 132; nrs.
1170 and 1171, 133; nr. 1188, 138; C. FOSS,
Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 70-71.
46. BASOR CLXII (1961) 33-4, 37; *ibid.*, CLXX (1963) 33-5;
ibid., CLXXVII (1965) 8; *ibid.* C (1972) 15-20; G. E.
BATES, Byzantine Coins nr. 1189, 139; nr. 1194, 140;
nr. 1199, 141; nr. 1206, 142; nr. 1226, 144: these
coins date to between 1185 and 1261; C. FOSS, Byzantine
and Turkish Sardis 82-3, 121-4.
47. W. H. BUCKLER, D. M. ROBINSON, Greek and Latin Inscriptions
43, nr. 19 (= C. FOSS, *op.cit.* 116) H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM
114-16, nr. 324, is ingenious but incorrect, being based
on unreliable earlier readings, see W. H. BUCKLER, D. M.
ROBINSON *op.cit.* pl. VII, squeeze.
48. Nicaea: A. M. SCHNEIDER, W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer
von Iznik (Nicaea) Istabuler Forschungen 9, Berlin (1938)
30-35, pls. 18, 20, 25, 27, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44, 148;
Ankara: G. DE JERPHANION, Mélanges d'Archéologie Anatolienne
Mélanges de L'Université Saint-Joseph XII, Beirut (1928)
150-1, 155-66; pls. LXXXIII-IV, XCII, XCIV-VI; C. FOSS,
'Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara' DOP XXXI (1977) 74,
78-9.
49. C. FOSS, Kutahya 62-7, 81-3; G. DE JERPHANION, *op.cit.*
155-66; pls. LXXXIII-IV, XCII, XCIV-VI.
50. See D. PRINGLE, The Defences of Byzantine Africa 149-52;
and n. 52 *infra.*

showing the anastasis which has been dated on stylistic grounds alone to the first half of the 11th century. There were also four coins: one of Michael IV (1034-41), two of Isaac I (1057-9) and one of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-81).[45]

This phase was followed by another period of apparent abandonment. During the last phase the site was again covered by a dense network of small houses, workshops, including a pottery producing typical 12th-14th century Byzantine glazed ware, and a small rock cut chapel decorated with frescoes. This phase lasted right through until the final Turkish conquest in the early 14th century.[46]

From the evidence of the excavated occupation phases the main east walls and the south bastion would have to be dated to between the 6th and the 10th century. The vast quantity of spolia used in these walls and above all the presence as spolia of a 6th century inscription set up in the lower city after 539,[47] further establishes a terminus post quem of the early 7th century. Apart from the coin of Constantine Porphyrogenitos the terminus ante quem would be much less certain. The type of construction with a massive spolia base and brick upper works is compatible with fortifications built as late as the 9th century.[48] The only feature which definitely points to an early date is the south bastion. Prow shaped towers and triangular bastions are common enough in the 9th century but there would be nothing at Nicaea, Ankara or Kütahya to parallel the large openings for a ballista battery.[49] This is much closer to the defensive arrangement of a 6th century fortress and hence is rather more likely to be the fortress attacked by Suleiman in 716.[50]

51.

A. GABRIEL, Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie Paris (1931) I,
19-23.

The acropolis castle is a very large fortress. Whether or not the western fortification belongs to a different phase, it must have been intended as part of a circuit of walls enclosing the whole hill (marked B on the plan, fig. I). The western fortification is overlooked from the east, hence any fortification which extended to the western edge of the acropolis hill was bound to include the peak and also the level ground in the acropolis top sector. The eastern walls also point to a large fortress. The stretchers on the west side of tower D point out into space indicating that the line of the wall continued on that side. The east wall also extends a considerable distance to the north, well beyond what would have been a possible minimum circuit, and the present south gate is small enough to have been intended as a postern. The total disappearance of the western walls, bar the isolated tower, is probably best explained by an earthquake.

Such a large circuit would be comparable in size to other important Byzantine fortresses, such as Kutahya or Ankara and it would have been rather larger than that at Caesarea in Cappadocia.[51] However the original fortress could have been limited to the area of the south bastion, acropolis top and adjacent peak sectors (circuit A, fig. I). A later extension to the western edge of the hill would have strengthened these defences by preventing an enemy from climbing unopposed up the western precipice and on to the easier slopes of the hill top itself. Yet even if the original works were confined to the eastern part of the hill, it still amounted to a huge undertaking. Several thousand tons of spolia, bricks, rubble, sand, lime and timber had to be carried to the top of a hill deliberately chosen

52. There appear to be the remains of wide openings which may reasonably be interpreted as such mountings.
53. G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 143-4; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 3; G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis 35-49; figs. 11-58; W. MÜLLER-WIENER in Erasmus XXXI/7-8 (1979) 238 is quite correct to stress the fine quality of these walls. They were not the rushed and careless construction of an emergency. Walls were a status symbol and Sardis could well afford an impressive circuit.
54. D. CLAUDE, Die byzantinische Stadt.

as inaccessible and a large enough work force assembled to turn these materials into a fortress.

Not only is the site and scale of this structure impressive, but its architect created an exceptionally sophisticated fortress whose great strength is evident in the surviving ruins and was no doubt even more so when the walls stood to their full original height. There is even still a sense of menace and power to be gained from the view of the massive ashlar masonry and the ballista mountings[52] set in the sweep of the walls round to the south bastion. The latter must have been a particularly daunting sight as an enemy prepared to advance up the only practicable approach to the fortress.

At whatever date it was built such a fortress must have been built by the army. It is inconceivable in either the late Roman or Byzantine period that it was the result of civilian civic endeavour, and, almost by definition, had the citizens of Sardis needed such a fortress they would have been unable to have built it. Had they had the money and manpower they would surely have been better spent repairing and defending the fine existing circuit of late Roman walls around the lower city.[53] Civilian enterprise, apparently, in most cases episcopal, is not unknown in the early Byzantine period but these are no examples on this scale.[54]

It is also important to stress that there is no question of this fortress being primarily intended as a refuge site. A typology of such fortifications should be one of the gains from the present work on Byzantine castles, but even on the basis of

- 55. See infra
- 56. See A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I *passim*.
- 57. See ns. 42 and 43 supra.

the evidence now available refuges can be characterized as being out of sight of any main road, usually extremely isolated in mountain country, and poorly constructed of mortared fieldstone. By their nature they were not intended for permanent occupation or to withstand serious siege.[55] The fortress at Sardis forms a complete contrast. It is set on a peak visible for miles, close to one of the most important roads in western Asia Minor, and built on a scale which defies the enemy to attack. It no doubt did serve as a place of refuge but that was not at all its primary role.

There can therefore be little doubt that the acropolis castle was the fortress that Suleiman attacked and that it had been specifically built by the Imperial government to deny the fertile plains of the Maeander region to the Caliph's armies. The only other possible context within the chronological limits defined by the evidence from the excavation of the acropolis top sector is the middle decades of the 9th century, particularly the 830s, when the combination of a revived and aggressive Caliphate with the Spanish Arab raiders, who operated from Crete against targets throughout the Aegean, provoked a military crisis for the Empire. In the event internal political circumstances deprived the Abbasid Caliphs of the opportunity to press home the advantage gained by the victory at Dazimon and the capture of Amorion and Ankara in 838. Unlike the earlier period there was apparently no co-ordination between the Caliph's campaigns by land and the raids of the Cretan Arabs by sea.[56] Even so, major building works at Nicaea, Ankara, Kütahya and Smyrna[57] show how seriously the Byzantines took the renewed Arab threat. There is every likelihood that other fortifications in Asia Minor should be dated

58. K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 190-91, pls. 17, 18.
59. D. FRENCH, S. MITCHELL, Ankara. A Guide to the City and District Ankara (no date) 95-6.
60. See V. KONDIČ loc.cit. supra n. 33.
61. K. BELKE, op.cit. 191; S. MITCHELL, RECAM II, 219-21, nrs. 270-73.
62. W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Geography 227; J. G. C. ANDERSON 'Exploration in Galatia Cis Halym, Part II' JHS XIX (1899) III; DAI 236.

to this period and in theory it would be possible to fit the fortress at Sardis into the pattern.

There are several obvious objections to the 9th century date. Aside from the notice in the Syriac chronicle, there are two decisive points. The first concerns the building technique and defensive arrangement of the south bastion; the second, the find, mentioned above, of 87 copper coins of Constans II and Constantine IV among several temporarily re-occupied rooms in the derelict Gymnasium.

The details of the south bastion, in particular its wide openings for a balista battery, do not fit in well with what else is known of 9th century fortification.

An example of a triple bastion built to command the more accessible and vulnerable approach to a fortress exists at the Kizil Hisar, near the Galatian village of Taburoglu, 89 kilometres south west of Ankara. As yet there is no published plan nor indeed an adequate description, but from what is available it does appear that the arrangement of the bastion is broadly similar to that at Sardis.[58] A 9th century date has been suggested for this fortress, but in fact this only depends on an apparent similarity with the prow shaped towers at Ankara.[59] Prow shaped towers, however, are not confined to the 9th century,[60] and the evidence for late Roman occupation suggests that these walls may be as early as the 7th century.[61] Furthermore, if the suggested identification of the site with that of the bandon of Aphrazeia were certain, then an early date would be very convincing. Wherever Aphrazeia may be, as a bandon of the Anatolikoi it was extant by the end of the 7th century.[62]

63. E. W. MARSDEN, Greek and Roman Artillery. Historical Development Oxford (1969) ; D. PRINGLE, The Defences of Byzantine Africa 149-52; see for example, PROCOPIUS V, xxi, 14-18; xxii, 21: 576-7 siege of Rome.
64. This important point is made in J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, 'Byzantine Artillery' forthcoming; the key text he draws attention to is the Miracula Sancti Demetri which proves that at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century the Avars had traction artillery while the Byzantines did not: P. LEMERLE, Les Plus Anciens Recueils des Miracles de Saint Demetrius Paris (1979) I, 154, 187; the appearance of traction artillery in the muslim world and the West is discussed in D. HILL, 'Trebuchets' Viator IV (1973) 99-114; C. M. GILLMOR, 'The Introduction of the Traction Trebuchet into the Latin West' Viator XII (1981) 1-8. c.f. L. WHITE, Medieval Technology and Social Change, Oxford (1962) 101-2; C. FOSS, Kütahya 77.
65. See D. HILL 'Trebuchets' 99-114.
66. A particular problem is the relationship between the late Roman ballista, the toxobolistras megalas mentioned in 949, and the origins of the crossbow: see De Cer I, 670-71; A. DAIN, Naumachica, Paris (1943) 60; J. HALDON ' - The Byzantine Crossbow?' University of Birmingham Historical Journal XII (1970) 155-7; G. T. DENNIS 'Flies, Mice and the Byzantine Crossbow' Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies VII (1981) 1-5.
67. C. FOSS, Ephesus 197-8; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 640 n. 374.

In any case, once examined in detail the similarity between the Kizil Hisar and the Sardis acropolis becomes less significant. Kizil Hisar has nothing of the characteristic of late Roman military brick work and above all there are no openings for a ballista battery.

The ballista was essentially a large bow which derived its torsion from twisted sinew drums on which the arms of the bow pivoted. By about the 4th century AD a number of these machines had been replaced by another item of torsion artillery, the stone throwing onager, but the ballista still played a major role in the defence of late Roman fortifications.[63] At the turn of the 6th/7th century traction artillery was introduced by the Avars into the Byzantine world.[64] Traction artillery was technically easier to construct and maintain, less susceptible to wet weather, had a higher rate of fire and would shoot much larger missiles.[65] Torsion artillery, including the ballista, seems to have gradually disappeared. The process is ill-documented and unclear,[66] but by the 9th century there is no known example of a fortress provided with the openings for a ballista battery. What was a common feature in the 6th century, was no longer part of Byzantine defensive architecture by the 9th. There is no reason to see Sardis as an exception.

The coin evidence supports this interpretation. Stray coin finds are very common on all the region's sites up to the early 7th century. Their number declines to almost nothing for the later years of Heraclios, recovers slightly for the early years of Constans II and then virtually disappears until a few examples from the 9th century herald the middle Byzantine recovery.[67] At

- 68. G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins 6-7.
- 69. M. HENDY, op.cit. 619-26, 640-45.

Sardis of the total number of 1,234 coins found for the eight centuries from the 6th to the 14th, over 80 per cent were struck in the century and a quarter before 616. Were it not for the 87 coins found in the Gymnasium only a further 7 coins, that is about half a per cent of the total, would have been recorded for the period between 616 and the 9th century.[68]

The problems posed by the coin evidence have already been touched upon in the discussion of sources. While it is reasonable to see the decline in coinage as evidence for a drastic economic and cultural decline, it is not so to see it as evidence for the abandonment of settlement sites. In the late Roman Empire the State had had a near monopoly over the initial distribution of coinage, essentially in the form of pay and donatives to the army and civilian officials. As the Empire collapsed in the face of Persian, Avar, Slav and above all Arab attack so bankruptcy followed and the supply of the coin was abruptly halted. The slight resurgence in coin finds under Constans II cannot be seen as part of a general recovery. Too few coins are involved and there is no other corroborative archaeological evidence. Instead this is simply evidence for the state's improved financial position during a lull in the Arab threat. After Constans' reign the deepening crisis of the Arab invasions forced the Empire to abandon monetary payments as the basic support for the armed forces in favour of the distribution of land.[69]

The 87 coins from the Gymnasium are a very substantial find for the 7th century. Given the government monopoly of minting, the Empire's dire military position and the quite evident poverty stricken state of 7th century Sardis, the coins must have had their origin in government expenditure. Of the 87 coins 48 were

- 70. G. E. BATES, op.cit. 113-20.
- 71. ibid. nr. 1089, 118; nr. 1092 and 1099, 119; BASOR
CLXII (1961) 33.
- 72. G.E BATES, Byzantine Coins 113-20.
- 73. ibid. pl. 7, nrs. 1014-96.

found in a single room and the rest either came from adjacent rooms or the fill of a Byzantine road built over the remains of a late Roman porticoed street.[70] Like the fortress, the road was certainly not a civilian work. It was built for military purposes and very probably by an army unit.

The road was part of the main route linking western Asia Minor to the central plateau and the military road from Constantinople to the eastern frontier. Had the Byzantines been building a fortress at Sardis repairs to this route would have been an essential part of the same strategy, since the Byzantine field army would have had to have been able to re-deploy so as to face Arab attacks from either Syria or the Aegean. In addition three coins of Constans II were found among the first phase on the acropolis making it even more likely that the road and the fortress were built at about the same period.[71]

The coins in the Gymnasium and on the acropolis date from all three decades of Constans' reign - 56 from the 640s, 26 from the 650s and 5 from the 660s - but there are also two coins from the reign of his son and successor, Constantine IV (668-85). One was found in the fill of the Byzantine road, the other was found in a corridor leading north from the room which had contained over half the coins and has been called the guard-house.[72]

The only certain conclusion from the coins is a terminus post quem for their deposit of about 669. Several are clipped and they appear worn, but the latter could be the result of worn dies.[73] Nonetheless the absence of any later coins than Constantine IV is a strong argument to place the major building

74.

BASOR CLXX (1963) 31-2; G. E. BATES, op.cit. nr.
1128, 126; c.f. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis
70.

operations at Sardis in the late 7th or early 8th century. In that period the most likely date for such large scale works is the period after 680. The Arabs had failed before Constantinople in 674-8 but the attempt had highlighted the danger to the Byzantines if they lost control of the west coast. After Mu'awiya's death in April 680 the Byzantines gained a further breathing space as the Muslims fell into civil war which lasted for more than a decade. This would have been a timely opportunity to deploy important units in a strategic project to improve the region's defences. By 716 the fortress should have been ready to face Suleiman's army.

According to the Syriac chronicle Suleiman captured Sardis in 716, but the second siege of Constantinople was no more successful than the first and in 718 the Arabs abandoned western Asia Minor not to return. After that the fortress remained in use until the mid-10th century.[74] The immediate cause for its abandonment may have been an earthquake but by that date it had also ceased to be of much strategic significance. The very scanty remains show that there was no important settlement there and it seems to have been occupied only as a small military outpost. When the army left, the site was of no interest to the local population and the site was abandoned.

The failure to establish "Upper Sardis" on such an excellent defensive site is an important example of a Byzantine community not taking to the hills but instead continuing to occupy the old city site in the plain. By comparison, in central Italy at about the same time there are numerous examples of communities moving to such well protected sites. From the 6th century onwards many Italians abandoned the settlements of the Roman period in the

75. T. POTTER, The Changing Landscape of South Etruria 138-69, Pls. XI 6, XV.
76. BASOR CLXII (1961) 32-9; ibid. CLXVI (1962) 37, 39; ibid CLXX (1963) 32-3; ibid. CCXV (1974) 33; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 71-89.
77. C. FOSS, op.cit. 121-4.

plains in favour of hill top sites such as Orvieto. Even as conditions improved from the 8th century the population did not return to its former sites. In the new hill top towns they had built churches, houses and walls, and despite the inconvenience the population would stay there until the 20th century.[75]

The Byzantines at Sardis were not to follow the Italian example until the 11th century and even then it would not be a permanent move until the 13th century. The evidence for the second phase of occupation on the acropolis shows that this was a different phenomenon to the early Byzantine experience. The excavations revealed, unlike the earlier phase, a dense settlement of poor housing which the coin finds date to the later 11th century. There can be little doubt that this new occupation of the site was a consequence of the first Turkish conquest. This phase did not last long. After the Byzantine re-conquest in 1098 the acropolis was again abandoned, but as Imperial Control waned toward the end of the 12th century so the upper site was once more re-occupied. Despite the greater security of the Lascarid period, reflected in new buildings such as Church E in the lower town, the upper site remained a settlement for the rest of the Byzantine period.[76] This was the town of Sardis whose struggles with the Turks at the beginning of the 14th century were described by Pachymeres.[77] By that date the town had at last permanently migrated to the acropolis hill.

Sardis is obviously a peculiar site. The acropolis was occupied in the later 7th century as an Imperial fortress not a new town. The population may well not have been given the option of moving to the upper site. Even so the example and the contrast

78.

ibid. 2-52; F. K. YEGÜL, The Bath Gymnasium Complex
at Sardis 49.

with the Italian pattern does suggest some general conclusions.

Firstly, western Asia Minor was probably at no time before the Turkish invasions afflicted with such chronic insecurity as central Italy. Survival on ancient sites was for most of the time a reasonably safe option.

Secondly, late Roman Sardis was an ancient and wealthy community, still at the end of the 6th century with a great civic pride and a sense of identity. Such a community, if given any realistic choice, would not abandon its ancient home.[78]

Thirdly, the example of Sardis shows how important it is to distinguish between military castles and fortified settlements. Not every hill top fortress is proof that the local cities had been abandoned in the early Byzantine period, even if later in the 12th or 13th century this did come to be the case. Despite the proximity of a suitable hill, the population of Sardis appear to have survived on the ancient site in the plain. Just as with Sardis so with the other cities in the region, the slight evidence for continuity needs to be taken seriously if one is to visualize the society which was conquered by the Turks in the later 11th century.

1. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 118; IDEM, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977) 479-81; A. CONZE, Stadt und Landschaft, Altertümer von Pergamon I, Berlin (1912) 305-6, 359, pls. 62-63.

CHAPTER FOUR Continuity or Flight? II: A Regional Survey of
the Lower Maeander.

It should be admitted from the first that in view of the lack of field surveys, the difficulties with the archaeological evidence and the lack of excavation of Byzantine sites the case for continuity as yet amounts to no more than a probability. The available evidence does not prove that the ancient sites remained the principal centres of settlement but there is nothing which proves the contrary and over the region as a whole the evidence fits without strain into a model of continuity.

The evidence for continuity at Sardis has already been noted above. The existence of the acropolis fortress is no evidence for a move in the site of the city. Instead it was built by the army in accordance with the strategic plans of the Imperial government. Up until the end of the 11th century its development was of little relevance to the history of the rest of the settlement.

Although they lie outside the Maeander region two other related fortresses should be noted. The Syriac chronicle entry for 716 indicates that the fortress at Pergamon was part of the same strategic scheme, although this could have been deduced from the very similar construction of the walls of the Pergamon acropolis castle, the similar well-protected site and the associated find of 124 coins of Constans II.[1]

2. L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 2nd Edition, Paris (1962) 268, 318; c.f. H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 86.
3. La Vie Merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa ed. V. LAURENT, Subsidia Hagiographica 29, Brussels (1956) 121; F. HALKIN 'Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainquer des Arabes en 863 (d'après un texte inédit)' AB LXII (1944) 219; last stands: 866: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 240; 932: GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONT. 912; 980: SKYLITZES 328.

A further unconfirmed possibility is the fortress of Plateia Petra. The exact site is uncertain although it is known to have been in the mountains of Lydia and set on impregnable cliffs. This places it somewhere in the mountainous country north of the Hermos, north-east of Sardis. The most likely site is the great rock at Şahankaya, called the Yedikule,[2] but it is by no means certain and having not visited the site myself I am not in a position to judge. In any case the written evidence shows that, wherever Plateia Petra may have been, in the 9th century it was one of the strongest fortresses of the Thrakesion theme. On at least three occasions it was used for the last stand of a fleeing rebel and there is no record of its fall to assault or siege. Such a fortress might have been built in the 9th century but if the site was so suitable it is more likely to have been occupied earlier, possibly therefore at the same time as the acropoleis at Sardis and Pergamon.[3]

About thirty miles to the east of Sardis on the same side of the Hermos valley is the important ancient and Byzantine town of Philadelphia, modern Turkish Alaşehir. Due in part to the existence of the modern town there has never been an excavation of any part of the site and a recent survey project seems to have been limited in its aims. Nonetheless Philadelphia still has a very fine circuit of late Roman walls and there is a relatively large body of written evidence for the period from the early 12th century to the city's final conquest by the Turks in 1390. If it is legitimate to extrapolate from the actions of these later

4. 'Philadelphia' P-W XIX/2, 2091-2; D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 40, 797-9; roads: W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, Classical Map of Asia Minor London (1958); H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 17; P. SCHREINER 'Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293-1390)' Orientalia Christiana Periodica XXXV (1969) 394; Caravan road: e.g. J.-B. TAVERNIER, The Six Voyages 37; medieval travellers: see infra 78-80 .

Philadelphians who used for their defence the same walls that had been there many centuries earlier, then it is almost certain that the city had had a continuous existence on the same site during the early Byzantine period.

Philadelphia was an Attalid foundation of the 2nd century BC set in fertile agricultural lands at an important route centre of western Asia Minor. Up until the 1950s the main road from the Hermos on to the central plateau passed through Philadelphia in order to avoid the rough country of the Katakekaumene. From Philadelphia the road passed via Blaundos (near Ulubey) and thence to Uşak and Afyon. This was the route followed by the Roman road, by caravan traffic in the 17th and 18th centuries, and by the late 19th century railway. Another important route led south east from Philadelphia over the watershed between the Hermos and Maeander river systems to join Smyrna, Sardis and Philadelphia with the cities of the Lykos valley. From there major routes led either east via Apamea to the eastern frontier and the southern coast, or south into Caria and Lycia. Again this route was followed by a Roman road and its use is recorded throughout the medieval and early modern period. Philadelphia is also linked via a minor route to Koloe and the Cayster Valley. Small Ottoman bridges testify to its earlier use but it is not an easy route and would require the considerable use of dynamite before it could bear a modern road. It should be regarded as a possible route for local trade but not for an advancing army.[4]

5. D. MAGIE, loc.cit.
6. E. CURTIUS, 'Philadelpheia, Nachtrag zu den Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens', Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (1872) 9-5 and pl. VIII.
7. H. BUCHWALD, 'The Church of St. John the Theologian in Alaşehir (Philadelphia)' JÖB xxx (1981) 301-18.
8. A. PRALONG 'Les remparts de Philadelphie' in Philadelphie et autres études Byzantina Sorbonensia 4, Paris (1984) 121-5.

Like the other cities of the region Philadelphia enjoyed considerable prosperity during the Roman period. In April 1985 the excavation of a large ditch for new sewers across the centre of Alaşehir revealed the remains of the Roman city's public monumental centre. Several Roman inscriptions are also known recording imperial benefactions to the city.[5] In the 1870s it was still possible to discern the site of a theatre and the stadium is visible today.[6] This prosperity continued in the late Roman period. The remains of a large basilica in the centre of the modern town are probably 6th century,[7] while the circuit of late Roman walls are themselves evidence of considerable civic wealth.

The walls of Philadelphia have usually been dated to the 3rd or 4th century but it has been recently suggested that they date to the early 7th century, on the grounds that although their technique of construction is very similar to those at Sardis the latter are not securely dated and the technique is broadly the same as that used throughout the early and middle Byzantine period. The 7th century would, it is argued, be a likely context for such a powerful circuit.[8]

This is not a convincing view. In the first place it greatly exaggerates the similarity in Byzantine and late Roman building techniques. Dating can be complicated but there should be no reason to confuse late Roman with middle Byzantine walls. The walls at Philadelphia with their rubble core, neat brick

9. J.-M. SPIESER, Thessalonique 66-7, pls. IX/2, X, XII/2; see supra.
10. ZOSIMUS IV, xxx 4-5.

banding, regular field stone facing, and above all no spolia are plainly late Roman. The walls at Sardis are very similar to those at Philadelphia and although there is nothing to date them exactly the great size of the circuit and again the absence of spolia points to a still active urban culture. The same applies at Philadelphia. It is inconceivable that at either Sardis or Philadelphia such defences would have been erected at a time of military crisis and economic collapse without making use of whatever convenient building materials were to hand. The walls of Thessalonika are a real case of panic building, apparently put up in the mid-5th century in the face of the Huns. There the builders used anything suitable, including numerous inscriptions, decorative facings, column drums and blocks of seats from the hippodrome.[9] By contrast the walls at Sardis and Philadelphia were erected at a leisurely pace in a time of peace. Such circumstances did not prevail in the 7th century.

Two pieces of literary evidence for the late Roman prosperity of the city should also be noted. Zosimos records that in 379 or 380 there was an outbreak of fighting in Philadelphia between contingents of Egyptian troops being transferred to Europe and barbarians from north of the Danube bound for Egypt. The fact that they met in the market at Philadelphia shows the continued importance of the city both as a route centre and as a market and likely source of supplies.[10] John Lydos, whose De Magistratibus was used as a source by Constantine Porphyrogenitos, was a Philadelphian who left his

11. JOHN LYDOS 113, 148-51.
12. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 145; Not. 2, nr. 165;
Not. 3, nr. 201; Not. 4, nr. 155; Not. 7, nr. 194; Not.
9, nr. 91; Not. 10, nr. 95.
13. SATHAS, MB V nr. 180, 459-61.
14. ibid. 28.

home in 511 to pursue a career in the Imperial civil service. His description of John Maxilloploumakios' evil deeds in torturing wealthy Philadelphians and stealing their property should not only be seen as a record of the ravages of Imperial tax collectors, but also as an indication that such wealthy targets still existed in 6th century Philadelphia.[11]

Apart from episcopal lists in which Philadelphia appears as the senior suffragan bishopric of the metropolitan of Sardis,[12] there is no mention of the city until the 11th century when it seems to have been one of the residences of the judge of the Thrakesioi. The only evidence for this is a letter of advice, probably dating to the late 1040s or early 1050s, which Michael Psellos wrote to a theme judge then resident in Philadelphia. Psellos says in the letter that he had first been to Philadelphia as a very young man when he passed through as part of the entourage of a certain Kataphloros on the way to Mesopotamia.[13] Psellos first left Constantinople aged 16 in 1034 to serve a judge in Macedonia and Thrace.[14] It is possible that this judge was the same Kataphloros who if he had been transferred to a new judgeship in the east might well have sailed from Thessalonika to a coast port and thence travelled east up the Hermos valley via Philadelphia. Shortly afterwards, as this letter shows, Psellos had returned to Philadelphia as a theme judge himself. In the manuscript the letter is untitled but the contents and in particular the play on philadelpheia in the opening section make it quite plain that Psellos is writing to a

15. ibid. 459-61; the manuscript is Parisinus Graecus 1182, see P. GAUTIER, 'Deux manuscrits Pselliens: Le Parisinus Graecus 1182 et le Laurentianus Graecus 57-40' REB XLIV (1986) 79.
16. G. L. F. TAFEL, G. M. THOMAS, Urkunden zur älteren Handels - und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit Besonderer beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante I, Vienna (1856) 271; M. ANGOLD, A Byzantine Government in Exile Oxford (1975) 247.
17. GEORGES ET DEMETRIOS TORNIKÈS, Lettres et Discours ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris (1970) 150-1, 173.
18. C.f. J.-C. CHEYNET, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206' in Philadelphie et autres études 39; see M. MULLETT, 'The classical tradition in the Byzantine letter', in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition 91.
19. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey ; ANNA COMNENA III, 27; P. SCHREINER 'Zur Geschichte Philadelphias'.

judge resident in Philadelphia and had himself also been resident there.[15] In the 12th century Philadelphia was for a period a separate theme but there is no evidence of such an administrative unit in the 11th century.[16] The title suggested by Sathas in his edition, 'To the judge of Philadelphia', should therefore be disregarded. Both Psellos and his addressee would have been in Philadelphia as judges of the Thrakesioi. In the 12th century, the dux of the Thrakesioi was normally resident in Philadelphia,[17] but again there is no evidence to suggest whether or not this was true for the judges in the previous century. In any case Psellos' letter is an important indication that the silence of the rest of the written sources and the absence of archaeology is a poor guide to a city's status in the early and middle Byzantine period.

It has been noticed that Psellos refers to Philadelphia in this letter as a chōrion and its inhabitants as chōritai, but in fact there is little that one can draw from this. To describe Byzantine provincials as barbarians and their towns as villages was a literary affection prevalent among Byzantine letter writers in the 11th century.[18]

With the rest of the region Philadelphia must have fallen to the Turks about 1080 but in the spring of 1098 it was reconquered by John Doukas and from then until 1390 it remained in Christian hands.[19] During the early years of the reconquest

20. ANNA COMNENA III, 154-5.
21. H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 125-30.
22. C. FOSS, Kütahya 68-71; these remains which seem to appear on the map in E. CURTIUS, 'Philadelpheia' pl. VIII, were overlooked by A. PRALONG 'Les remparts de Philadelphie 112-14.
23. M. COUROPOU 'Le siège de Philadelphie par Umur Pacha d'après le manuscrit de la Bibl. Patriarcale d'Istanbul, Panaghias 58' in Geographica Byzantina ed. H. Ahrweiler, Byzantina Sorbonensia 3, Paris (1981) 71, ll. 10-11, 19.
24. ACROPOLITES 105; NIKETAS CHONIATES 412.
25. H. AHRWEILER, 'La region de Philadelphie au XIV siècle (1290-1390). Dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure' Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions (1983) 175-197, esp. 195.

Philadelphia, like Ephesos, Smyrna and Pergamon, was a separate military command[20] but in the early 1130s the Thrakesion was reconstituted as a theme under a dux, who seems to have been resident in Philadlephia.[21] On the city's acropolis there are the remains of some fine opus mixtum which by comparison with similar work at Kütahya could be dated to the mid-12th century.[22] In the 14th century this structure was known as the palation which would support the suggestion that this was the residence of the dux of the Thrakesioi.[23]

Philadelphia's defences, its position as a route centre close to the contested lands of the Upper Maeander and its own fertile hinterland, meant that from 1098 onwards it played an important role in Byzantine strategy as a forward bulwark against the Turks. On several occasions in the 12th and 13th centuries Byzantine authors noted the Philadelphians' warlike qualities. In particular George Acropolites, writing in the second half of the 13th century, described Philadelphia as a great and populous city whose inhabitants were all capable of bearing arms and were particularly skilled in the use of the bow - the characteristic weapon of their Turkoman opponents.[24] This experience of the frontier was to stand the Philadelphians in good stead in the 14th century when they survived long after all else in western Asia Minor had fallen to the Turks as a virtually independent 'Greek Emirate'.[25]

There is no evidence of such local military initiative

26. J.-C. CHEYNET, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206' 39-54.
27. ANNA COMNENA III, 144-5.

before the last two decades of the 12th century[26] but this should not imply that Philadelphians had been incapable of defending themselves. An incident in 1109-10 suggests otherwise. The stratopedarch, Eumathios Philokales, had earlier inflicted a savage defeat on the Turkomen in the Baklan ovası and the area around the Acı Tüz Gölü. This in turn had provoked a counter attack from Hasan, the ruler of the Turks in Cappadocia, who marched on Philadelphia with a large army aiming to destroy Eumathios' forces in battle. By giving strict orders that no one was to show themselves on the city walls Eumathios was able to deceive the Turks into believing that the city was only held by the local population. Feeling himself to be safe from the Byzantine field army, Hasan allowed his own large army to split into three raiding groups. As soon as these had moved off, the Byzantine forces emerged from Philadelphia and defeated the Turkish raiders in detail.[27]

The significant point of these events for the history of Philadelphia is that although Hasan believed it was held only by its inhabitants, the Turks made no attempt to sack the city. According to Anna Comnena's account this was because they did not have the necessary siege equipment, but it also follows that no attack was made because the citizens were expected to be able to defend their walls. Otherwise it would simply have been a matter of climbing in.

The walls of Philadelphia enclose an area of approximately

28. c.f. A. PRALONG, 'Les remparts de Philadelphie' 101-25.
29. E. CURTIUS, 'Philadelphieia' 94; c.f. A. PRALONG, op.cit. 116.
30. see infra ; in general proteichismata were built at more immediately threatened sites such as Dara or Thessalonika, see M. WHITBY, 'Procopius' description of Dara (Buildings II. 1-3)' in The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East 761; J.-M. SPIESER, Thessalonique 72-3.
31. A. M. SCHNEIDER, W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea) 16-19.

180 hectares rising to join the site of the acropolis on the south side. They are built of neatly coursed mortared fieldstone with a mortared rubble core. Some major repairs and improvements were carried out in the 12th and 13th centuries but otherwise they are all of late Roman date.[28] Up to at least 1870 the fragmentary remains of what appears to have been a proteichisma were visible by the south east gate.[29] Whether or not this was part of the original late Roman defences is not clear. Although a proteichisma formed part of the late Roman circuit at Antioch on the Maeander, such outworks are uncommon among the urban defences of western Asia Minor,[30] and a later date has to be considered. A 13th century proteichisma is known from Nicaea in Bithynia.[31] The date here will have to await excavation.

In any case the point remains that the walls which Hasan felt unable to take in 1109-10 were essentially the same as those which surrounded the city in the late Roman period. Hasan's expedition also dates to seventy years before any Byzantine author commented upon the warlike qualities of the Philadelphians. From this it follows that if the circuit were defensible in the face of a large Turkish army in the early 12th century, then it is hard to believe that in the 7th century, when the Philadelphians were heirs to nearly 900 years of civic tradition, they would simply have abandoned these same walls in the face of the Arabs.

The absence of any mention of Philadelphia in the sources

32. J. KEIL, A VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-Hist. Klasse LVII, Vienna (1914) 15-17.

33. P. S. NASTUREL, Le testament de Maxime de Skoteinë (1247) in Philadelphie et autres études 69-100; there are two editions of this text: S. EUSTRATIADES, 'Ἡ ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ μονῆς τῆς Ὑπερκαλίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοτεινῆς' Ἑλληνικά III (1930) 325-39; M. I. GEDEON, 'Διαθήκη Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ κτίτορος τῆς Λυδίας μονῆς Κοτινῆς (1247)' Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά II (1939) 270-90. Neither is totally satisfactory.

34. S. EUSTRATIADES, op.cit. 325; M. I. GEDEON, op.cit. 271-2.

35. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 15 and fig. 7.

for the early Byzantine period is hardly important. Few places are mentioned at all and it is natural that the chronicles should concentrate on the major fortresses or Christian centres such as Sardis, Amorion or Ephesos. Philadelphia should no doubt appear under the "other cities and fortresses" common to the Byzantine and Arab accounts.

More significant is the apparent absence of anywhere else for the 7th century Philadelphians to have gone. This has to be suggested with some caution, since there are still areas in the hill country separating Alaşehir from Kiraz and the Cayster valley to the south which need modern exploration; however earlier travellers in the area make no mention of any fortresses in these hills,[32] and more important, a surviving document of 1247 implies that in the early 13th century they were deserted.

The document is the will of Maximos, abbot and founder of the monastery of the Theotokos tēs Skoteinēs, which is preserved in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos.[33] Various indications in the will show that the monastery lay near to Philadelphia on a wooded hill.[34] Since the only hills in the vicinity are those to the south the monastery must have been in this general area. In fact the actual site may have been discovered. In 1911 J. Keil and A. Von Premerstein saw the sculptural remains of a Byzantine church reused to form the grave of a Muslim saint at Tacdaci Köy, a village 5 kilometres south of Alaşehir lying 750 metres above sea level.[35] If this is not

36. S. EUSTRATIADES, op.cit. 325-6; M. I. GEDEON, op.cit. 271, 272-3.
37. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' JOB XXVIII (1979) 297-320.
38. Satala: ibid. 305-6; L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 93-103, 287-313; Maonia: C.FOSS, op.cit. 304-5; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.Hist. Klasse LIV, Vienna (1911) 79, 87-9; P. HERRMANN, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordost Lydien, Denkschriften LXXX (1962) 4-12.

the church of the Theotokos it certainly lay very close to hand. In the will Maximos says that when his father first went there which was presumably in the early 13th century - the area was uncultivated and thickly wooded. Indeed it was such a lonely and deserted region that in the early years monks could not be persuaded to live there.[36] Clearly there had been no shift in population to the security of these hills.

In general in this part of Lydia known medieval castles and potential refuge sites date to the 12th century or later. Some of the remains in the Katakekaumene, north of Philadelphia, have been examined by C. Foss, and it is clear that most of the fortress building dates to the Lascarid period.[37]

The three main sites are Satala, Maeonia and Tabala. At Satala and Maeonia the evidence suggests a continuous occupation of the same site through the ancient and medieval periods.[38] Tabala however appears to be an exception where the settlement did move from its ancient site in the plain on to a nearby hill in the early Byzantine period. Very little is known about ancient Tabala. It is possible that the hill top was so excellent a defensive site as to encourage the Byzantines to leave the late Roman city, but as with Sardis, Pergamon or possibly Plateia Petra, there remains suspicion that this was an official military work. Tabala is in a key strategic position commanding one of the main routes to the east and the walls would appear to be a rather too major investment for a previously

39. C. FOSS, op.cit. 302-4, and pl. 5; P. HERRMANN, op.cit. 19-22 and pl. V.
40. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78-9, 92-3.
41. ibid. 79; HIEROKLES 21-2 and map III.
42. Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin and Leipzig (1924-40) II, i 405.

unimportant city.[39] In any case Tabala is too far from Philadelphia to represent a refuge site for its citizens.

Beyond the Boz dağ south of the Hermos lies the upper valley of the Cayster. This area has been noted for its fertility since antiquity, but due to its position away from the major west - east routes in a cul-de-sac of mountains, it did not develop any large or famous cities. As late as the 2nd century AD some of the more remote parts of the valley were still organized into tribes and villages.[40] By the 6th century there were some twelve or more cities in the valley and surrounding hills: Hypaipa, Metropolis, Dioshieron, Nicaea, Valentinianopolis, Koloe, Palaiopolis, Larissa, Thyraia, Augaza, and possibly Titacazus and Tmolos.[41] Bar to some extent Hypaipa and perhaps Koloe, all these cities were very minor settlements. Their status may be illustrated by the incident which took place at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 when Bassianos, a wealthy citizen of Ephesos, complained to the Council that he had been beaten up to force him to become bishop of the "miserable little city of Augaza".[42] However, despite their lack of wealth and size, and, one might have presumed, the consequent fragility of their urban culture, there is evidence which suggests they survived as settlements on the same site up until at least the end of the 11th century.

Hypaipa seems to have been the most important ancient city in the valley, lying on a main road from Ephesos to Sardis. In the 1st century BC it had played a prominent part in the

43. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 225.
44. G. WEBER, 'Hypaepa, Le Kaleh d'Aïasourat, Birghi et Oedemich' REG V (1892) 7-10; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 64f.; what appear to have been more medieval remains were visible in the early 1720s. "... a very pleasant little town, the inhabitants of which are the chief proprietors of the above mentioned olive trees and adjacent country ... from a Christian slave we understood, that it's [sic.] name was Capai ... On an eminence near it, are still visible the ruins of a castle.": J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe I, 143.
45. G. WEBER, op.cit. 7-8; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure III, II: the inscription he records of Martyrios, a scholastikos and lamprotatos apo legatos who decorated the church of St. Theodore in Hypaipa, is evidence not only for the existence of the church, but also for the city's prosperous late Roman ruling class: see H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 46-7, nr. 124/4.

resistance to Mithradates and the Hypaipans were no doubt rewarded for their loyalty. Throughout the Christian period Hypaipa was the senior suffragan see of the Metropolitanate of Ephesos.[43]

Up until the late 19th century there were considerable Roman building remains on the site, but the visible remains today are limited to an arch of a Roman bridge, several column drums, a few very fragmentary inscriptions and the vaulted substructure of a large Roman building, possibly a bath. There have also been noted the remains of a mortared fieldstone wall but there is no published description nor have I seen it.[44]

As so often throughout the Maeander region the disappearance of the remains has been the result of economic development over the last century and a half. The problem is particularly severe in the Cayster valley because of its present agricultural prosperity, its successful modern towns and above all the proximity by rail of Smyrna. Hypaipa, although itself only the site of a small village, is three miles north west of Ödemis which has replaced it as the principal market centre of the valley. The railway reached Ödemis in the 1880s and within a few years Hypaipa was being stripped for building materials. The marble was burnt for lime and the ashlar broken for rubble. Most of ancient Hypaipa, and with it much of the accessible evidence for its post-Roman history has either been built into the walls of Ödemis or is part of the mortar of Smyrna.[45]

46. G. WEBER, op.cit. 8; the village has now been renamed Gunluce, but the old name is still remembered.

47. The evidence for Hypaipa's metropolitan rank is rather slight, and although the promotion is not in doubt, Hypaipa was only a short lived metropolitan see. All the evidence comes from the notitiae. The oldest manuscript of notitia 7, MS Atheniensis 1429 of the 12th century, contains the colophon in a much later hand that Hypaipa had been created a metropolitan see by Isaac II Angelos. The notitia itself was drawn up in the early 10th century and is associated with the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos: Notitiae Episcopatum 53-5, 58, 78, 435; Not. 7, nr. 120 apparatus. Similarly one rescension of notitia 10, of which the oldest manuscript is 14th century, includes Hypaipa as a metropolitan see and attributes the promotion to Isaac II. The notitia itself, like notitia 7, draws on a 10th century archetype and this is a later insertion: Notitiae Episcopatum 95-7, 116-17, 438; Not. 10, nr. 11 apparatus. Notitiae 12 and 15, however, were both composed in the late 12th century and both included Hypaipa as a metropolitan see in the archetype. There is no other evidence to confirm their reading, and certainly notitia 15 does contain some rather doubtful claimants to metropolitan status, but notitia 12 appears more reliable. Pyrgion, for example, which is listed below Hypaipa, is confirmed as a metropolitan see by a patriarchal letter of 1342 (MM I, 228f.). Hypaipa's metropolitan rank did not last long. In 1216 it again appears as a suffragan of Ephesos, and this is confirmed by a patriarchal letter dated to 1230: Notitiae Episcopatum 128-32, 134-5, 159, 166, 171; Not. 12, nrs. 89 and 90, Not. 15, nrs. 93 and 109; E. KURTZ, 'Tri sinodalnykh, gramoty mitropolita Efesskago Nikolaja Mesarita VV XII (1906) 103; J. NICOLE, 'Bref inédit de Germain II Patriarche de Constantinople (Annee 1230)' REG VII (1894) 80; c.f. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 185. The reasons behind the promotion no doubt lay in a wider context of ecclesiastical politics, but the fact that it was even possible to make Hypaipa a metropolitan see for a short period does show it to have been a considerable settlement. See the similar case of the short lived metropolitan see of Argos, J. DARROUZES, 'Notes inédites de transferts episcopaux' REB XL (1982) 159, 164.

48. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 263.

49. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 75-6, and fig. 42.

The site has never been excavated nor properly surveyed but there is some evidence to suggest continuity of occupation. In the first place the modern village on the site preserves the name Hypaipa in Taype or Datbey.[46] There is no other nearby site from which the name could have migrated, hence it follows that at least the later Byzantine settlement was on the ancient site and it is very likely that the earlier Byzantine settlement was as well.

The fact that Hypaipa was recorded in the notitiae throughout the Byzantine period is in itself insignificant but the elevation of the see to metropolitan rank during the reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185-95) is evidence that the city not only existed at this date but was of sufficient importance to merit such a promotion.[47] The fact that Hypaipa and Philadelphia were raised to metropolitan rank at about the same date suggests a roughly equivalent status.[48]

For the earlier period the best evidence for continuity is probably an inscribed block of architectural sculpture referring to a bishop Andreas which was photographed by J. Keil and A. Von Premerstein in 1911. They had seen it embedded in the walls of the mosque at Yenice Köyü, one mile north of Ödemis. Since the mosque was otherwise constructed of spolia from Hypaipa, less than two miles away, there was no reason to think that this block did not come from the same source.[49]

50. See A. GRABAR, Sculptures byzantines du moyen age II (XIe-XIVe siècle) Paris (1976) 41-9, pls. VII, VIII, XI, XIII, XIV; see also pl. XXV a and b.
51. ibid. 44 nr. 16, pl. VII, c; MAMA IV (1933) 12, pl. 17.
52. J. STRZYGOWSKI, 'Das griechisch-kleinasiatische Ornament um 967 n. Chr.' Wiener Studien XXIV (1902) 443-7.
53. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise 88, figs 47 and 48.
54. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 185 nr. 264.
55. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals Basel (1972) I/2, nr. 2365.

The inscription, so far as it survives, asks the Lord to remember our bishop Andreas, and gives no date. On stylistic and iconographic grounds the decorative frieze, which formed part of the architrave of an iconostasis screen, is certainly 9th to 12th century.[50] The closest dated parallels are with a fragment of another architrave now in the museum at Afyon Karahisar, dated 934-5,[51] and with the other architrave found by Strzygowski in the Ulu Cami at Manisa, which bears the date 967.[52] That it appears to be a less sophisticated work than the relief slabs dated to 1056, which Keil and Von Premerstein had found three years earlier at Maeonia, can hardly be significant.[53] It is tempting to associate the Bishop Andreas of the inscription with the bishop of Hypaipa of the same name who appears on an early 11th century seal,[54] but in any case the Hypaipa fragment almost certainly dates to well before the first appearance of the Turks in the Cayster and is important evidence for continued Byzantine occupation of an ancient site not blessed with natural defences.

Before this the only evidence seems to be a seal of Sisinnios, dioikētēs of Hypaipa, which can be approximately dated by the Theotokos monogram on the obverse to the 8th or 9th century.[55] A dioikētēs was a financial official under the logothete of the Genikon with a responsibility for the collection and assessment of the land tax. The territory under his supervision, known as a dioikēsis, seems in many cases to have been organised indepently of the theme and based on the territory which

56. F.DÖLGER, Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung 70-1; N. SVORONOS, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes' BCH LXXXIII (1959) 56-7 and f.; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 313.
57. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. I/2: 1082, nr. 1918; 1207, nr. 2183; 1317, nr. 2426; 1348, nr. 2487; 1000, nr. 1748; 1169, nr. 2105; I/3: 1783, nr. 3203; V. LAURENT, Documents de sigillographie byzantine. La collection C. Orghidan Paris (1952) 140-1, nr. 261.
58. Kiraz, Cherry; in the 12th century the Cayster valley seems to have been known as the Kelbianon and there are several references to its fertility and wealth: KINNAMOS 39; ANNA COMNENA III, 145; NIKETAS CHONIATES 368. This may also be the site of the Second Crusade's Decervion: ODO OF DEVIL 110; see W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Geography 114.
59. LEO DIACONUS 5.

looked to a particular city.[56] Thus in the Maeander region dioikēteis are also known for Sardis, Stauropolis, Miletos, Ephesos, Laodicea, Mastaura and Stratonikeia.[57] That Hypaipa was another such fiscal unit implies its continued role as a market centre for the Cayster valley in the early Byzantine period.

The other city in the Cayster valley which may once have been of some importance was Koloe, modern Kiraz, today a small but thriving market town at the north eastern end of the valley. In military terms the site has nothing to recommend it. Koloe is set in the midst of a fertile plain surrounded, as the modern name suggests, by fruit orchards.[58] The 10th century historian, Leo the Deacon, came from Koloe and he may be justly reflecting this fertility when in his Historia he describes his patria as "the fairest chōrion in Asia".[59]

However, a mile to the north east of Koloe, and visible from the city, is a castle set on a bluff overlooking the Cayster river. The castle, which contains a village, is called Asar and until very recently Kiraz was still called Kelles, a derivative of Koloe. This in itself is no assurance that the name Koloe had not previously migrated to the castle site, but both C. Foss in 1972 and myself in 1982 have been shown what appear to be the remains of Byzantine walls in Kiraz basements. Moreover the castle at Asar is of a plan and building technique which dates it almost certainly to the Lascarid period, and if not, no earlier than the 12th century. The castle was entirely built in one

60. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 314-6, and
n. 70.

phase. If early Byzantine Koloe had migrated to this site then nothing remained in the 12th or 13th century to be included in the new castle. On these grounds it is very likely that the Koloe of Leo the Deacon and his predecessors had survived on the ancient site.[60]

The other ancient cities of the upper Cayster were set in far superior defensive positions to either Hypaipa or Koloe, but they had consequently less access to fertile agricultural land and despite their defensive advantage there is no evidence either that they were any the more important in the early Byzantine period or that the threat of Arab attack saw any general move to the hills.

2

The ancient site at Ayas²luk lies on a bare but defensible hill overlooking the plain between Birgi and Kiraz. This was probably Nicaea of the lower Kilbianoi, a poor city founded in the 2nd century AD as an urban centre for one of the Cayster's tribal groups. The hill top has a circuit of mortared fieldstone walls of uncertain date. They are not ancient, nor do they appear to be Turkish. The total absence of brick, in contrast with other distinctive Comnenian and Lascarid works, argues against a 12th or 13th century date. Thus they are either a very poor specimen of late Roman city walls or, more probably, early Byzantine work. In any case the likelihood is of continuous occupation throughout the early Byzantine period, but there is nothing to suggest any new prominence at the expense of more

61. G. WEBER 'Hypaepa, Le kaleh d'Aiasourat, Birghi et Oedémich' 10-15; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78-9, 93.
62. C. FOSS, 'Explorations in Mount Tmolus', California Studies in Classical Antiquity 39-43, pls. IV and v.

exposed sites.[61]

Another minor ancient city, occupying one of the secluded basins of fertile soil in the Boz dağ range, has been found by C. Foss at the village of Lübbey Yaylası, just over half way between Sardis and Hypaipa. Its ancient name is unknown, although it may have been Tmolos. The site and surrounding area have preserved considerable evidence of Roman occupation, and some graves found with an associated bronze coin of Constantine X Doukas (1059-67) show that this continued through the Byzantine period. Part of the area is known as Manastır Yeri, "the site of the monastery", but otherwise there is no evidence as yet to suggest that Lübbey Yaylası was any more important in the Byzantine period than before.[62]

Above Birgi the road climbs steeply for about two hours to the village of Kemer and beyond that along some two miles of winding path is the village of Yılanlı, another of the Boz dağ's suprisingly fertile and populated settlements. To the north west the landscape is dominated by the huge bulk of the Boz dağ itself, while the valley below the village slopes to the east before turning south towards the plain of Kiraz. About 30 metres above the village of Yılanlı is the Yılankalesi, a fortress built on a rocky and waterless spur of the Boz dağ.

The Yılankalesi is a castle consisting of a lower circuit and a shorter upper circuit which forms a small citadel complex

63. c.f. C. FOSS, op.cit. 45-9.
64. W. MULLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XI (1961) 112-16 (Kecikalesi); 9-14 (Avşar); 14-19 (Heracleia under Latros).

at the northern end. It is entirely built of the local fieldstone held together by a grey mortar. The walls contain no brick and no spolia. The whole structure is apparently all of one phase.

The date is very uncertain. No coins or pottery have been found which might have provided a terminus. The construction of mortared fieldstone is not Roman, neither is the plan. The total absence of brick does distinguish the Yılankalesi from nearly all known 12th and 13th century Byzantine work and it could easily date from the early Byzantine period, but this attribution should not be accepted without caution.[63]

Of the fortresses in the region which have been studied and can be attributed with some confidence to the 13th century, the closest parallel to the Yılankalesi is the Kecikalesi, a castle built on a spur of the Alaman dağ and with very wide views over the lower Cayster and the plain of Torbalı. The Kecikalesi is also constructed of mortared fieldstone, but it does use a few bricks and a spolia lintel block to form a decorative detail over the west gate. The general wall masonry is neater and more regular than that of the Yılankalesi and it shares its rectangular plan with other castles, notably those at Avşar and Heracleia under Latros, which are constructed in the more familiar Lascarid style using large quantities of brick.[64]

The absence of brick at the Kecikalesi was almost certainly

65. The Travels of Ibn Battuta, AD 1325-1354 trans. H. A. R. Gibb, Hakluyt Society, London (1958-71) II, 439-40; J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe I, 145-7; A. PHILIPPSON, 'Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien' Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen Ergänzungsheft CLXXII (1912) 63-73, pls. VI and VII.

dictated by the height of the site above the Cayster valley. Apart from the local fieldstone all other building materials had to be brought up 300 metres of very steep slope covered with boulders and thornbushes. It is possible that the same factor applied in the building of the Yılankalesi. Without more careful study I am not convinced that the absence of brick, irregular stonework and peculiar plan are not the result of particular local problems. Since there is nothing to suggest that this was on or near an ancient site, one must presume that as at the Kecikalesi all bricks and spolia had to be brought up from the valley, three hours below. Its builders had to face the problems of a steep rocky spur and a local fieldstone which may not have made ideal building material. The result would necessarily look rather different to a fortress built in the Cayster valley or its immediate foothills.

Even if the Yılankalesi were not a 12th or 13th century work it may have been built in the Turkish period. When Ibn Battuta visited the Aydınoğlu Emir, Muhammed, in the early 1330s, he found that the Emir had left his usual residence at Birgi for a yayla in the Boz dağ. Rather than the small valley of Yılanlı, the Aydınoğlu court probably spent the summer on the west side of the Boz dağ at Gölcük where the lush pastures so impressed Van Egmont in the 18th century.[65] However the well watered Yılanlı valley would not have been neglected and since the Greeks still held Philadelphia at this date one would expect to find some 14th century Turkish fortifications in these hills. Their role would

66. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137.

67. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 315 n. 70.

partly have been to protect Turkish flocks in these hills but also to deny access to Philadelphian shepherds.

The possibility does remain that the Yılankalesi was an early Byzantine castle. If so it could be an indication that this valley was used as a temporary refuge from Arab attacks, but it is no evidence for a substantial movement of the permanent population to the security of the hills. The Yılankalesi is a castle not a fortified settlement. The spur on which it is built is so rocky even within the walls that only a very small garrison could ever have lived there. There is no spring or cistern on the site and the absence of pottery fragments even raises the question of whether it was ever occupied at all. For a permanent population the absence of suitable defences for all the residents and their flocks would have been a very serious disadvantage. The Boz dağ range is relatively accessible and if the Arabs were able to force their way into the wilderness of Mount Latros[66] then the Yılanlı valley should have presented few problems. However, before the site can be interpreted with confidence more work will have to be done, both on the castle itself and on the Tmolos range in general.

By the early 13th century both the older settlements on the northern side of the valley, Koloe and Hypaipa, were in decline. Even after the building of the nearby castle at Asar, Koloe seems to have survived in the plain,[67] but its ecclesiastical and administrative role was gradually taken over by Pyrgion, a

68. See n. 47 supra.
69. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 1020; G. WEBER, 'Hypaepa, Le kaleh d'Aïasourat, Birghi et Oédemich' REG V (1892) 15-21.
70. 680: MANSI XI, col. 648; 691: MANSI XI, col. 993; 879: MANSI XVII, col. 376.
71. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 103; Not. 2, nr. 120; Not. 3, nr. 128; Not. 4, nr. 114; Not. 7, nr. 143; Not. 9, nr. 37; Not. 10, nr. 34 ('now Pyrgion'); Not. 13, nr. 38.
72. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 208-9 nrs. 294 and 295. A third seal, also referring to the see as Pyrgion, is dated by
* Laurent to the 11th/12th century: ibid. 209, nr. 296.
73. R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture in South Western Anatolia, Cambridge Mass. (1931) I, 24-32, fig. 42.
74. J. DARROUZES 'Notes inédites de transferts épiscopaux' REB XL (1982) 159, 165-6; IDEM 'Le traité de transferts' REB XLII (1984) 185; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 207-8.

settlement in an excellent defensive position set on one of the foothills of the Boz dağ. Hypaipa too, although it had been promoted to metropolitan rank in the reign of Isaac II Angelos, was reduced to a suffragan see in less than thirty years. There is no mention of Hypaipa at all after 1230,[68] and its importance was soon lost to Thyraia, on the south side of the valley, but like Pyrgion in an excellent defensive position.

Pyrgion, modern Birgi, is actually an ancient site known as Dios Hieron,[69] and since it appears in the Council lists for 680, 691 and 879,[70] the site probably had some form of continuous existence. In the notitiae, where it was a suffragan see of Ehpesos, the site appears as Dios Hieron,[71] but in the Councils of 680 and 691 this overtly pagan place name had been replaced by Christoupolis. By 879 this in turn had given way to Pyrgion. The latter probably reflects local usage - particularly since that name appears on two 11th century episcopal seals[72] - and is a clear indication that Pyrgion was a fortified site during those years.

Up until at least the 12th century Pyrgion remained a very minor settlement. The oldest surviving monument is a short stretch of wall that might be dated on grounds of technique and style to the 12th or 13th century.[73] By the end of the 12th century Pyrgion had surpassed Koloe to such an extent that it was promoted at about the same time as Hypaipa to become the second metropolitan see in the Cayster valley.[74] Like Hypaipa, the

75. J. DARROUZES 'Notes inédites' 165-6; MM I, 228f, 461.
76. MM IV, 154.
77. PACHYMERES II, 436.
78. R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture I, 24-32; II, 102-6; IBN BATTUTA 438-42; G. WEBER, 'Hypaepa, Le kaleh d'Aïasourat, Birghi et Oédemich' 15-21; DOUKAS XVIII, 8; XXVI, 4.
79. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 360-65; E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey 17-18.
80. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 314; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, 'Bericht über eine dritte Reise' 57, 80; A. PHILIPPSON, 'Reise und Forschungen' CLXXX (1914) 42.

vagaries of ecclesiastical politics meant that this new status was shortlived, but in 1342 the metropolitanate was revived and lasted until the 1360s.[75] In the mid-13th century Pyrgion was named with Koloe as a separate administrative district under the Thrakesioi,[76] but the fact that Roger de Flor thought Pyrgion rather than Koloe worth holding to ransom in 1304 is an indication of their relative importance.[77] Three years later in 1307 Pyrgion fell to the Turks, but the new rulers actually further enhanced the city's pre-eminence. For the rest of the 14th century Pyrgion was the capital and dynastic mausoleum of Aydinoglu Emirs, who built there a palace, the Ulu Cami and a medrese. [78] After the Ottoman conquest which was finally achieved in 1414, Pyrgion did decline but up to the 19th century it was still a more prosperous town than any of the settlements in the plain.[79]

At Palaiopolis, modern Balyanbolu, there are the remains of a Lascarid castle, and this seems to be another example of a very minor ancient city whose defensive advantages only attracted attention in the 12th or 13th century.[80] More striking, however, is the case of Thyraia, modern Tire, which took over Hypaipa's position as one of the chief towns in the valley. Thyraia grew from a very insignificant ancient site to become during the Ottoman period one of the principal cities of the Maeander region.

Thyraia is set in an excellent defensive position on a hill

81. P-W Suppl. VII, 1573-4; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMERSTEIN, op.cit. 82-90; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 33, 78; D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 886; see STRABO IX, 440; XIII, 620.
82. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMERSTEIN, op.cit. 83-4, fig. 83.

overlooking the plain. Throughout the Roman period this part of the Cayster valley was included in the territory of Ephesos. Thyraia was thus not a city in its own right but a katoikia, a village settlement, which was not of sufficient importance either to appear in Hierocles' Synekdemos or to deserve its own bishop. Even as one of the katoikiai of Ephesos, Thyraia seems to have been surpassed by Larissa, which lay near the modern village of Güselimtepe in the Cayster plain.[81]

Larissa seems to have continued as a settlement at least in the middle Byzantine period. Keil and Von Premerstein, who established the site of Larissa in 1911, saw there the remains of a fairly large church (15 x 15 metres, with a narthex beyond), built using a great deal of spolia from the surrounding site. Their plan and description is not very detailed but one can deduce from the square, pierced and domed structure with an attached narthex that this is broadly of Byzantine rather than late Roman date.[82]

The church might have been part of an isolated monastery but comparison with other known Byzantine monastic complexes makes this rather unlikely. Byzantine monasteries seem to have been built either close to a town or city, or in isolated mountain areas. Numerous examples of the first type are to be found in and around Constantinople, Thessalonika and Athens; those on Mount Latros, Mount Galesion, Bithynian Olympos or the Nea Moni on Chios are examples of the second. Monasteries set

83. See R. JANIN, Grands Centres passim; A. A. M. BRYER, 'The late Byzantine Monastery in town and Countryside' in The Church in Town and Countryside ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History 16, Oxford (1979) 222; thi is perhaps an incautious assertion, which can only be tested when current field surveying projects have advanced our knowledge of the Byzantine settlelment pattern; see supra 38-43.
84. MUNTANER 496-7.
85. ibid. 497.
86. ibid. 498.

in an isolated position in the midst of an agricultural plain would appear to have been rare in the Byzantine world. Larissa is much more likely to have been some form of settlement when this church was built.[83]

The exact date of the church is not known but the likelihood is that it pre-dates the 12th century. Keil and Premerstein's plan would fit such a date, and despite periods of effective security in the 12th and 13th centuries, these were never long enough to have encouraged the building of a large church in such a relatively exposed position.

Whether Larissa continued to be occupied in the early Byzantine period remains unknown, but the general interpretation of a move to a more secure site at the time of the Turkish invasions seems to be confirmed in this context by the 14th century Spaniard Muntaner in his account of the deeds of the Catalan company in western Asia Minor in 1304. Having defeated the Turks at Philadelphia, the Catalans moved via Magnesia to Thyraia.[84] The Turks "made raids in the direction of Tyre, as far as the church in which rests the body of Monseigneur Saint George, which is one of the most beautiful churches I have ever seen, and is about two miles from Tyre." [85] Shortly afterwards the Turks made a full scale attack on Thyraia from the direction of the Cayster plain. The Catalans went down into the plain and defeated them. One of the Catalan commanders, En Corberan, who had been killed by a Turkish arrow, was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. George.[86]

87. A. J. TOYNBEE, The Western Question in Greece and Turkey
London (1922) ; M. LLEWELLYN SMITH, Ionian Vision:
Greece in Asia Minor 1919-22 London (1973).

Muntaner's account clearly implies that the church was in the Cayster plain and that it was an isolated buiding, or at least not set in an important settlement. He was also impressed by the beauty of the church which suggests that it was a sizable structure. So far this agrees with Keil and Von Premerstein's description of the church at Larissa, and although they give the name of the church as Hagios Athanasios, that was presumably only local Greek opinion in 1911 and since the Greek population of the Cayster were almost entirely 19th century immigrants that can be of no historical significance.[87]

Whatever the case, Muntaner's church of St. George must have been built as part of a settlement and at a date before the Turkish invasions. Clearly by 1304 the settlement had largely moved to the security of nearby Thyraia leaving the church and its relics isolated in the plain.

Despite its excellent defensive position there is no indication that Thyraia was of any importance before the 12th century. Two Byzantine inscriptions have been found in Tire, one used as spolia in the walls of the Uçuleli Cami, the other built into the walls of the 19th century church of the Holy Taxiarchai. The first reads as follows: "Here lies Leo Chonētas who built [rebuilt?] the church. You who minister here remember him because of the Lord." From Jordanidēs' early 20th century copy, the lettering of the inscription, in particular the cursive alpha, the plain serifless delta and the generally regular,

88. A. FONTRIER, 'Inscriptions de la plaine du Caystre, recueillies par M. Eustratios Jordanides' Revue des Etudes Anciennes IV (1902) 266; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 119, nr. 333/5.
89. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 91-2, fig. 51.
90. E. KURTZ, 'Tri sinodalnykh gramoty' 103; otherwise the only other reference is in three 14th century manuscripts of notitia 10. Its appearance there really does no more than underline the unreliability of these lists: Notitiae Episcopatum 93-5, 108, 142-4; Not. 10, nrs. 46 and 58. It has been suggested that Thyraia may appear in earlier notitiae under the guise of Arkadiopolis, but since both names appear in the Synodal list of 1216, as well as in notitia 10, this idea can be disregarded: ibid. Not. 10, nr. 32; E. KURTZ, op.cit. 103; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78-9; c.f. W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Geography 104, 114.
91. PACHYMERES II, 588; IBN BATTUTA II, 442; DOUKAS XXVI, 4; XXIX, 2.
92. W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 535.

separated, slightly square letter forms, suggests a 10th or 11th century date.[88] The second is a broken marble pilaster which bears part of an inscription written in the quarters of a cross recording that an anonymous deacon had installed beautiful columns in the bēma. The date is very uncertain but it is definitely 11th century or earlier.[89] In both cases the inscriptions are important evidence of building work during the Byzantine period but since they could have come from almost any ancient site near Tire they are of no significance for the history of the city.

No bishop of Thyraia is mentioned until Synod of 1216 but there must already have been a town for it to have been an episcopal see. [90] By the time of Muntaner in 1304 Thyraia had become one of the chief cities in the region. As the major settlement in the Cayster valley it had already replaced the ancient centre of Hypaipa and would soon do the same for Pyrgion. Thyraia continued to prosper after the Turkish conquest in 1307 when it received an enforced settlement of refugees from Ephesos.[91] During the Ottoman period caravans from Smyrna did not follow the line taken by the Roman road and its modern successor through Ephesos/Selçuk and Magnesia/Ortaklar, but instead went over mount Messogis to Aydin via Tire.[92] The development of the railway in the later 19th century led to the end of Tire's ancient route, and even within the Cayster valley, Tire was surpassed by Ödemis, the modern market centre which has inherited Hypaipa's ancient role as the valley's major settlement in the plain. As evidence of its

93. J. A. EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe I, 139; E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey 19; R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture I, 32-6; I. ASLANOĞLU, 'Three mosques in Tire', Vakıflar Dergisi VIII (1969) 166-70.
94. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 84-5, 96, fig. 48.

former prosperity modern Tire still contains two large hans built between the 14th and 16th centuries, and at least eighteen mosques dating from the same period up to the 18th century.[93]

Keil and von Premerstein discovered more evidence of Byzantine occupation of the Cayster plain thirteen miles north of Tire on the other side of the valley. At the village of Furunlu, three miles west of Bayındır, they saw the remains of a middle Byzantine cross-in-square church. It is a three apsed, four piered building, 10 x 10 metres, with three entrances on the west side possibly leading to a narthex. On the north side another entrance suggests that there may have been an additional parekklesion on that side. They also saw a piece of Byzantine relief sculpture lying near the village mosque but they did not publish an illustration. One mile to the east in the village of Kara Halili they found a very fragmentary inscription built into a fountain which names a deacon Kyriakos and Timothy. The lettering is possibly 6th century or early Byzantine.[94]

Only a start has been made in exploring the settlement history of the Cayster valley, but it does appear that the major change in the settlement pattern came not in the early Byzantine period, but much later after the 11th century. The appearance of the Turks in about 1080, the Byzantine reconquest of the region in 1098 and even more the loss of the Banaz ovası in the last quarter of the 12th century placed the Cayster, like the Hermos, increasingly close to a hostile enemy and moreover made its

95. R. MERIÇ, Metropolis in Ionien, Ergebnisse einer Survey - Unternehmung in den Jahren 1972-1975 Beiträge zur klass-Phil. 142, Vienna (1982) 1-9, 19-21.

fertility of new significance to a reduced Byzantine state. Up until the 12th century at the earliest the major settlements survived on ancient sites occupying open positions in the plain; only from that date on do hill top sites appear to have become the new chief towns of the Cayster valley.

To the west of Bayındır the Cayster turns south before returning west to reach the sea north of Ephesos. The divergence is caused by the limestone massif of mount Galesion, the modern Alaman dağ. In the Roman period the eastern slopes of the massif and the adjacent plains were the territory of the small city of Metropolis. The site, which was surveyed by R. Meriç in 1972-5, consists of a lower town on the edge of the plain and a small acropolis set on a low hill to the west. The only fortifications of the ancient city seem to have been a Hellenistic fort on the acropolis hill. This was reoccupied in the early Byzantine period with the addition of various mortared fieldstone walls. Metropolis is named in the Synekdemos and was also a bishopric but it seems to have been of little importance. Nonetheless the fact that the modern Turkish name for the plain and its chief town, Torbalı, derives from Metropolis suggests that the settlement continued up to at least the 14th century.[95]

Behind Metropolis, mount Galesion is very unfavourable to settlement and was as little populated in the Byzantine period as it no doubt had been earlier and still is today. The Life of St. Lazaros of Galesion, written in the mid-11th century, describes

96. LAZAROS 520, 521-2, 527, 529, 581; see R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 119.
97. W. MULLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 112-16.
98. R. JANIN, Les églises et les monastères 247-50.
99. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' 481-2; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Sigacik und Çandarli' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XII (1962).
100. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 21-2, nrs. 79 and 80.
101. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 84, c. 20; THEOPHANES 353; see supra

an inhospitable region inhabited only by monks and the occasional shepherd which is still recognizable in the landscape today.[96] The only site known in these mountains is the appropriately named Kecikalesi (Goat Castle), a 13th century fort built on a spur which provides excellent views over the surrounding plains. The fort is all of one period and was evidently built as a look-out post.[97] It may also have provided protection to the monastic community which had followed St. Lazaros to live on the mountain. The Galesiote monks had a distinguished reputation in the 13th and early 14th century Empire[98] and would no doubt have been accorded such protection, but otherwise there is no evidence of any settlement associated with the Kecikalesi. These bleak mountains certainly did not support a permanent refuge population from the plains.

The two major Roman cities to the west of Sardis and the Upper Cayster were Smyrna and Ephesos. Both were continuously occupied throughout the early Byzantine period.

Smyrna is the less well known of these sites. It was a large and thriving city in the 4th to 6th century, protected by a circuit of late Roman walls which were kept in repair into the 7th century.[99] An inscription records work carried out on the circuit in the reign of Heraclios.[100] The city was ravaged by the Arabs in 654-5 and again in 672 when an army wintered there, and it would doubtless not have been spared in 716-7.[101] Apart from the damage inflicted the Arab attacks are also evidence that

102. 'Vita S. Theodori ... Studitorum' PG XCIX, cols. 204-5.
103. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 24, nr. 82/2.
104. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Die Stadtbestigungen von Izmir' 63-4; H. GREGOIRE 'Inscriptions historiques byzantines. Ancyre et les arabes sous Michel l'ivrogne' Byzantion IV (1927-8) 437-49; A. M. SCHNEIDER, W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik 35, 51-2, pl. 44; C. FOSS, Kütahya 83.
105. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 563.
106. LAZAROS 579.

Smyrna was still a place worth attacking and a suitable site for an army to winter. The next evidence comes from the 9th century. The Life of St. Theodore the Studite records that in about 820, Bardas, the strategos of the Thrakesioi was lying ill in Smyrna when he appealed to the saint to cure him.[102] About thirty years later major work was carried out on the city's defences. An inscription dated at least part of the work to 856-7,[103] and although nothing survives today the numerous closely set towers shown on the Storari plan of 1854 would have identified it as a 9th century construction, similar to Michael III's other works at Nicaea, Ankara and possibly Kütahya.[104] It is not known whether the 9th century work was a repair and reinforcement of the late Roman walls, or a replacement along a new line. The former is probably more likely. The Storari plan shows that this was a city wall enclosing a substantial area rather than a fortress, however large. As such the most likely context is a repair to the late Roman walls incorporating a more advanced defensive arrangement in face of the Cretan Arabs. At about the same time Smyrna's importance was acknowledged by its promotion to the rank of a metropolitan see in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[105] In the 11th century Smyrna was still apparently thriving. In 1042, a monk from Mount Galesion passing through Smyrna, was able to hear there the latest news from Constantinople. Taking advantage of this he took the next boat from Smyrna to Mitylene and was the first to arrive with the news of Constantine Monomachos' promotion to the Imperial throne.[106] In the 1080s the Turk Çaka (Tzachas of the Byzantine

107. ANNA COMNENA II, 111, 116, 157-8; III, 23-5; for further evidence of Smyrna's Byzantine prosperity: Mssrs. FERMANEL, FAVVEL, DE LAUNAY, DE STOCHOVE, Le Voyage d'Italie et du Levant Rouen (1687) 19: they were travelling in Turkey in 1631 and saw the remains of a church that had been entirely buried until its discovery eight years before - 1623. The church had apparently contained an inscription that was 600 years old; SKYLITZES 405: earthquake of February 1040 in which Smyrna suffered particularly badly, "many beautiful buildings" fell and citizens killed; S. EYICE 'Iznik'te bir Bizans kilisesi' Belleten XIII (1949) 37-51: this is probably a Lascarid church but it may be earlier. See also C. FOSS 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 482; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 34-42.

sources) occupied Smyrna and with the help of local shipbuilders built a fleet which he used for raiding in the Aegean. With the clear cooperation of its inhabitants, Çaka used Smyrna as a base until its recovery by Imperial forces in 1097. From Anna Comnena's account of these events, Smyrna was a sizable town in the 11th century, surrounded by walls which the inhabitants could defend in the time of siege.[107]

Since the 19th century Smyrna has appeared to be the natural site for a major west coast city, and consequently its survival as an important settlement from the 7th to the 11th century has not seemed particularly extraordinary. It lies at the focus of the regional route system and above all has an excellent deep water harbour protected from the wind. However these appearances are rather deceptive. The only natural advantage Smyrna has as a terminus for routes from the central plateau is that it is less affected by silting than for example Ephesos or Miletos. Even so there are other sites, such as Kuşadası, which do not suffer from silting at all, and in any case this was no great advantage in an age of shallow draught vessels.

The city's present preeminence as a route centre is largely the accidental creation of the modern railway and road system, and the position of Smyrna's harbour at the end of a long gulf is convenient only for modern shipping. In the past the gulf was in fact a major disadvantage. From May to September the wind (the

108. F. W. HASLUCK 'The Rise of Modern Smyrna' BSA XXIII (1918-19) 139-47; W. TURNER, Journal of a Tour in the Levant London (1820) III, 126; see supra n.3, p.6
109. J.-B. TAVERNIER, The Six Voyages 33; J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe 122; infra ; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor II, 11.
110. P. RICAUT, The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi, 1678 London (1679) 35.

Imbat) usually blows from the sea on to the land in daytime. Even so a combination of sandbars and the problems of doubling Cape K  m  r made the entrance of the gulf slow and troublesome for sailing vessels. Getting out of the gulf was worse. If there was any offshore wind at all in the summer it only blew at night and was frequently too slight to blow a vessel out to sea. In the winter the wind was stronger but less predictable and in effect made the gulf no more easy of access. A succession of travellers from the 17th to the 19th century have recorded their experiences of the major navigational disadvantages of the gulf of Smyrna but possibly the most revealing note is that made by W. Turner who found in 1814 that the masters of small local sailing vessels refused to take him into Smyrna because of the difficulties of getting in and out of the gulf.[108]

Merchants, shipmasters and travellers did not suffer in silence. From the 17th to the 19th century they pointed out the advantages of other ports. In particular Kuşadası (Scala Nova, Phygela), Urla (Clazomenai) and Siġaçık (Teos) were suggested as preferable replacements.[109] These all had much better harbours for sailing vessels, were just as suitable for their access to the major land routes and did not suffer from silting. They could also be regarded as healthier than Smyrna which up until the late 17th century was surrounded by mosquito breeding "bogs and fens".[110]

In practice however, whatever the natural disadvantages of

111. F. W. HASLUCK, op.cit. 111; J.-B. TAVERNIER, op.cit. 32.
112. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East III, 38; J.-B. TAVERNIER, op.cit. 33; P. DE TOURNEFORT, Relation d'un voyage du Levant Lyons (1717) II, 403.

the site they were far outweighed by political factors. In the first place the unimportance of Smyrna between the 14th and the 16th century meant that it had not become the residence of an Ottoman paşa. The provincial governor instead lived at Manisa and the only government official at Smyrna during the 17th and 18th centuries was the relatively lowly kadı. Kadı s were cheaper to bribe and in cases of conflict the Frank merchants at Smyrna could usually draw on influential support in Constantinople to overrule the Kadı's decision. In any case it was easier for the Ottomans to tolerate the activities of the infidel merchants in a minor town, away from senior officials such as the pasa at Manisa.[111]

An even more important political factor was the ownership of Smyrna in the 17th and 18th century by the Sultan's mother, the Valide, who collected a large percentage of the port's revenue. To maintain this she was willing to encourage western merchants, tolerate their resident communities, churches and consulates, and in effect grant them a certain autonomy. She was also able to give them important backing in Constantinople which would protect them from any efforts of the Kadı. The Valide would obviously not tolerate any move to an alternative port and hence the western merchants had little choice but to put up with the navigational disadvantages of the gulf.[112]

It follows from this that the survival of Smyrna in the Byzantine period was not simply a recognition of the natural

113. G. WHEELER, A Journey into Greece 246.
114. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 259-60; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 204, 236.
115. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 658.
116. ATTALEIATES 224.
117. R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 77; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern 196.
118. It has been correctly pointed out that the tomb of St. Polycarp and the associated cult recorded at Smyrna since the 17th century has no claim to antiquity or authenticity, F. W. HASLUCK, 'The "Tomb of St. Polycarp" and the Topography of Ancient Smyrna', BSA XX (1913-14) 80-93; see e.g. R. POCKOCKE, A Description of the East II, 36; in the 13th century the city was more famous for its icon of Christ, F. W. HASLUCK, op.cit. 86; ACROPOLITES 103; however the early medieval evidence leaves the cult of St. Polycarp in no doubt: St. Polycarp appearing on the bishop of Smyrna's seal, V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 564, nr. 740; 565, nr. 741; 566, nr. 743; an encomium of St. Polycarp written by Metrophanes, metropolitan of Smyrna and opponent of Photios in the 9th century, survives in at least two manuscripts, B. GEORGIADES, 'Ek tōn tou Mēropolitou Smyrnēs Mētrophanous (865)', Ekklesiastikē Alētheia III (1893) 298-302.
119. See infra 189.
120. See supra n. 105.

advantages of the site. The acropolis hill was not an ideal defensive position[113] and the gulf was as much a handicap to Byzantine sailors as to their successors. Indeed although the evidence shows that Smyrna was used as a port in the 11th century, it is significant that on none of the three Cretan expeditions where the point of embarkation is known did the Imperial planners choose Smyrna. In April 865 the Caesar Bardas intended the army to embark at Kēpoi, near the mouth of the Maeander, south of Miletos;[114] in 911 the logothete Himerios sailed from Phygela (Kuşadası);[115] in 960 Nikephoros Phokas had arranged for his army to embark at the same place, but at the last moment he was put off by the poor omen of the name, and he choose instead the adjacent headland of Hagia.[116] These decisions suggest that Smyrna was a busy port in the 11th century only because it was an important settlement already for other reasons.

One reason for Smyrna's prosperity was the existence of a surrounding territory of fertile agricultural land,[117] but this was not an advantage peculiar to Smyrna, nor of particular significance in the early Byzantine period when other similarly placed cities were in serious decline. Another reason was its cult status as the home of St. Polycarp.[118] Yet as the abandoned shrine of St. Philip at Hierapolis[119] demonstrates this was not enough to insure the survival of a city and at Smyrna the city's ecclesiastical status was not to be recognized until the 9th century.[120]

121. C. MANGO, Le développement urbain de Constantinople 54, 57.

122. Anna claims that 10,000 were killed in the massacre which followed Kaspax's assassination, ANNA COMNENA III, 25.

Clearly the only remaining factor at Smyrna which can have been decisive was the existence of a well-kept circuit of defensible late Roman walls.

The walls would not have protected the inhabitants from the assault of the Caliph's army as in 654-5 and 672, but on other occasions they would have been secure against most raiders. The security would in due course have attracted a larger population which would in turn increased the city's effective garrison. Early medieval Smyrna probably did not fill the area inside the walls. As at Constantinople itself,[121] parts of the ancient city would have been given over to farmland. However the settlement would have been of sufficient importance both as a military centre and as a source of revenue to deserve the new defences built by Michael III in the mid-9th century. The new walls would in turn have encouraged the prosperity of the settlement and it is not surprising shortly afterwards to find Smyrna as a metropolitan see. By the 11th century Çaka would have found one of the natural military centres of the Maeander region still on its ancient site in the plain next to the gulf. The advantages of its population[122] and its walls would have outweighed the difficulties his sailors would have experienced bringing their vessels in and out of the gulf. Thus Smyrna, rather than Clazomenai or Phokaia, became the centre of Tzachas' short-lived seafaring Emirate, although it is interesting to note that among his first actions was to gain control of these places

123. ibid. 110-12.
124. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity passim.
125. ibid. 122.
126. Teos: D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 79-80, 898-900; G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 106-15; Lebedos: D. MAGIE, op.cit. 79-81, 899-900; G. E. BEAN, op.cit. 118-22; Colophon: D. MAGIE, op.cit. 79-80, 898-9; G. E. BEAN, op.cit. 151-5.
127. HIEROKLES 22, Notitiae Episcopatum passim.

and their rather better harbour facilities.[123]

Ephesos too, as C. Foss has shown,[124] is an example of continued occupation of the ancient site up to the 12th century. Ephesos was an important cult site and centre of pilgrimage but that would not have been sufficient to ensure its survival. As with Smyrna, on top of any minor natural advantages the essential factor in its survival was the existence of a powerful circuit of walls, which at Ephesos appear to be early Byzantine. It is also worth stressing C. Foss' conclusion that there is no evidence either of the main part of the settlement having moved to the Ayasuluk hill before the 12th century or of the city's harbour having fallen into early disuse. At the time of the Turkish invasions at the end of the 11th century Ephesos was still on its ancient site.[125]

The other coastal settlements between Smyrna and Mount Mykale (Samsun dağı) included places such as Teos, Lebedos and Colophon which had been prosperous pre-Roman cities but had declined under the Empire.[126] Their city status ensured them each a bishop in the late Roman period and this arrangement was inherited by the middle ages,[127] but they were mostly very minor places and so they remained up until at least the 12th century. Between the 7th and the 11th century these small coastal sites would have been particularly exposed to Arab raiding, first by fleets from Syria and then in the 9th and 10th centuries by Cretan raiders and finally in the 11th century by

128. ibid. 75 and Not. 7, nr. 651.
129. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 48-51; ANNA COMNENA II, 110.
130. H. AHRWEILER, op.cit. 52-5.
131. ibid. 53-5; EP I, 226, nr. 23.

pirates from Africa. Conditions were not propitious for the survival of small coastal cities but despite this there is evidence for at least some continuity on the same ancient sites.

Clazomenai was built on an island linked to the mainland by a causeway. It was a bishopric first under the metropolitan of Ephesos and then from the 9th century under Smyrna.[128] It enjoyed a period of particular prosperity in the 13th century when the main settlement seems to have been inland at Ambrioula, although the coastal site was still occupied. The only earlier reference to Clazomenai dates to the late 11th century when it was one of the first objectives seized by Çaka with his new fleet. Çaka's attack shows that in the 1080s it was still on the ancient coastal site and was of sufficient importance for the Emir to attack and Anna Comnena to record.[129]

On the other side of Cape Kōmür, the ancient port for Chios was at Erythrai. With the exception of a short period from the later 19th century to 1922 when Erythrai enjoyed a certain revival thanks to an active Greek community, this role has been taken over by the port of Çeşme, 10 miles to the south west.[130] Çeşme, under the Byzantine name of Linoperamata, was already the chief local port in this area by the 13th century. This is attested by a prostaxis of Theodore I Laskaris granting customs exemptions at the emporion of Linoperamata and other ports to the monastery of St. John on Patmos. No earlier reference is known.[131]

132. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Sigacik und Çanderli' 97 n. 109; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor II, 11; O. RUGE, 'Inscriptionen aus Nord-west- und west-kleinasien' Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (1892) 707-8 nrs. 8 and 9; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 19 nr. 64.
133. G. WEBER, 'Zur Topographie der Ionischen Küste, II: Lebedus' Athener Mitteilungen XXIX (1904) 280; contra H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 12 n. 58, 124 n. 7, LAZAROS 561 Lebedios has nothing to do with Lebedos. The confusion of two places called Bessai is a further warning against assuming that places with the same or similar name are identical, E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Éphèse' REB XLIII (1985) 243-51.
134. C. SCHUCHHARDT, 'Kolophon, Notion und Klaros' Athener Mitteilungen XI (1886) 407; T. MACRIDY, 'Altortümer von Notion' Wiener Jahreshefte VIII (1905) 155-73; IDEM 'Antiquités de Notion' Wiener Jahreshefte XV (1912) 36-37.
135. T. MACRIDY 'Altortümer von Notion' 155; T. MACRIDY BEY, C. PICARD, 'Fouilles du Hieron d'Apollon Clarios à Colophon' BCH XXXIX (1915) 38, 45.

Teos is a similar site now occupied by the village of Siḡacik. Its excellent port was noted by Hamilton in the 1830s and by the Genoese in the 14th century who built a fortress there. A bishop of Teos is attested throughout the Byzantine period but there is no further evidence and no visible Byzantine remains.[132]

14 kilometres to the south east Lebedos was another ancient walled city on the coast. The remains of a three aisled basilica have been noted, but it is probably late Roman and there is no other indication of Byzantine occupation.[133]

More important is the city of Colophon a further 17 kilometres along the coast. Roman Colophon consisted of two sites, Old Colophon, 14 kilometres inland near the village of Deḡirmendere, and new Colophon, known in the ancient world as Notion, lying on the coast to the south. Since the Hellenistic period the main settlement of the valley had concentrated on the site of Notion, close to the famous temple of Claros. The old inland acropolis seems still to have been occupied in the late Roman period to judge by a stretch of apparently late Roman wall on the site, but otherwise the name, the bishopric and the main settlement were on the coast.[134] In the decade before the First World War Th.Macridy Bey and C. Picard noted late Roman/Byzantine walls at the coastal site and the remains of a small church. They identified in the latter two building or possibly repair phrases.[135] An inscribed 6th century ambo

136. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 27-8, nr. 94.
137. ibid. 28, n. 95; T. MACRIDY 'Altertümer von Notion' 159.
138. See infra 222-4 .
139. c.f. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 124 n. 7.

dates the first to the late Roman period and also identifies the building as the episcopal church of Colophon.[136] The second phase was Byzantine. Another inscription on a fragment of a typical middle Byzantine decorated architecture is dated to 959/60.[137] The inscription not only shows that the church was in use at that date, but like the similar sculpture at Sebaste in the upper Maeander region,[138] it also records that the architrave was a gift of the bishop, and thus shows that this was still the episcopal church of the bishop of Colophon in the mid 10th century. Since nothing else is known of the site it is unclear whether it was occupied throughout the Byzantine period. If the inscription had been dated a year or more later one might have questioned whether the period after the reconquest of Crete in 960-1 saw a reoccupation of coastal sites hitherto exposed to Arab raids. Yet in 959/60, in view of a succession of disastrous attempts to expel the Arabs from Crete, there can have been little reason for special optimism on this count. The inscription thus tends to favour the case for continuity on the ancient site of new Colophon.[139]

The two major sites between the Cayster and Mount Mykale are Phygela at Kusadası and Anaia at Kadıkalesi. They were both ancient sites and were both occupied in the 13th and 14th centuries. At Phygela the evidence is clear that the site was occupied continuously throughout the early and middle Byzantine periods. There is less evidence for the history of Anaia over the same period, and it remains no more than a possibility that

140. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 33, 383; STRABO XIV, i, 20.
141. T. TOBLER, Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex Saeculo VIII. IX. et XV. Leipzig (1874) 20, 60; see C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 123 and n. 29.
142. La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa ed. V. Laurent, 149-51 and n. 3.
143. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 82-5; on the walls of Phygela/Kuşadası in general see ibid. 74-85; IDEM 'Kuşadası und Yeni-Foça. Zwei italienische Gründungsstädte des Mittelalters' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XXV (1975) 399-420.
144. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De.Cer. I, 658; ATTALEIATES 224.
145. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 42, nr. 115/3.

Anaia too was a continuously occupied site.

Phygela was not a city in the Roman period. Like Larissa in the Cayster valley, Phygela had been absorbed into the territory of Ephesos in the 3rd century B.C., and Strabo, writing in the 1st century A.D., could refer to the site as a poliknion.^[140] After the 7th century however, Phygela is comparatively well attested. In the mid-720s the Anglo-Saxon St. Willibald visited Phygela^[141] and a century later in the early 820s one of Thomas the Slav's lieutenants in his revolt against Michael II was imprisoned in a fortress there. This is recorded in the Life of St. Peter of Atroa which specifically refers to a fortress on an island, thus confirming the previously contested identification of Phygela with modern Kuşadası.^[142] The visible remains of fortifications on the island at Kuşadası are of Ottoman date but excavation would no doubt reveal the previous fortress.^[143] As has already been noted Phygela is twice attested in the 10th century. Both Himerios in 911 and Nikephoros Phokas in 960 intended to embark their expeditionary forces for Crete at Phygela.^[144] More evidence survives for the 11th century. An inscription dated to 1019, found at Kuşadası used as spolia in the wall of the new church of 1798, records the restoration or construction of a church dedicated to St. George.^[145] There are also two references to Phygela in the mid-11th century Life of St. Lazaros of Mount Galesion. In the first Phygela again appears as the place of embarkation for a monk sailing to Crete; in the second, it is as the port where a

146. LAZAROS 532, 578.
147. EP I, 114-15, nr. 12.
148. EP I, 128-9, nr. 14; ibid. 136 nr. 15; ibid. 149, nr. 17; ibid. 226, nr. 23; EP II, 147-8, nr. 62; ibid. 211-12, nr. 72.
149. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 123; A. P. KAŽDAN, 'Vizantiskie goroda v VII-IX vekach', Sovetskaia Arkheologiya XXI (1954) 184; S. VRYONIS, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor Berkeley (1971) 11 n. 42.

sailor who has been saved from shipwreck by the intervention of St. Lazaros lands on his way to thank the saint.[146]

The next reference to Phygela is not until 1202 when Alexios III Angelos issued a chrysobull, now preserved in the monastery of St. John on Patmos, confirming the donation by the koubouklēsios John Palanitos of a house and courtyard in the emporion of Phygela to the monastery of St. George Dysikos.[147] Shortly afterwards this property passed to the monastery of St. John and there are several further references in the Patmos archives to the emporion of Phygela and to this property.[148]

In the past there has been some confusion over the history of Phygela. The evidence which proves that it was on the site of modern Kuşadası was not published until 1956 and the point was not made in print until 1979. A great deal of previous discussion has been misled by this oversight. At the same time A. Každan had argued that Phygela was a new town in the 9th-10th century. This has been rebutted by S. Vryonis who pointed to St. Willibald's visit a century earlier, but Každan's point has a merit which should not be ignored. Phygela was not an important place in the Roman period.[149] It was a poliknion rather than a polis which presumably is why it did not have a bishop. It is thus very unlikely that Phygela had any late Roman walls. This seems to be confirmed by the two accounts of St. Willibald's travels. Contrary to Vryonis' translation, neither the longer version in the Hodoeporicon or the shorter in the Itinerarium calls Phygela

150. T. TOBLER, Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae 20, 60.

151. EP II, 147; EP I, 226, nr. 23.

a 'large town'. Both versions refer to all the other places which Willibald visited as *urbes*, but the former calls Phygela a *villa magna* and the latter refers to it simply as a *villa*. The distinction is clearly deliberate and seems to be that for Willibald and his author on *urbs* was a town or city defined by its walls and probably in most cases its bishop, whereas a *villa* was any other settlement which lacked these features and was thus by definition non-urban. In most cases *villa* can be translated as village and even in the case of Phygela as described in the *Hodoeporicon* as a *villa magna*, the implication seems to be that this was a sizeable settlement which nonetheless lacked those characteristics which to St. Willibald defined the urban. It is thus seriously misleading to call 8th century Phygela a large town.[150]

Up to the 11th century Phygela was obviously important as a harbour and the island gave the site a potentially major military importance. The 9th to 11th century evidence need show no more than this and there is nothing else to show that Phygela was ever a major town. No excavations have been carried out at Kuşadası but there do not appear to have been any earlier walls than those erected by the Genoese at Scala Nova. Furthermore, unlike Thyraia which had also been neither a late Roman city nor a bishopric, Phygela was never made a see in any Byzantine period. In the 13th century Phygela was called an *emporion* but then so were such small settlements as Hieron, on the site of ancient Didyma.[151]

152. T. WIEGAND, Priene 27, 490-2; J. KEIL 'Zur Topographie des ionischen Kuste südlich von Ephesos' Wiener Jahreshefte XI (1908), Beiblatt 151-4; C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 124-5; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of Eastern Roman Provinces 78; HIEROKLES 21; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 104 et passim.
153. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 68-74, figs. 15 and 16.
154. EP I, 226 nr. 23.
155. EP I, 232 nr. 24; EP II, 207 nr. 71; N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion' REB XXVI (1968) 21, 35.

Phygela is a definite case of continuity. The reason for its survival may in fact have been the proximity of a fortress on the island, but there is no reason to think that the inhabitants of early Byzantine Phygela moved site. Roman Phygela was a minor settlement and despite the fame which medieval Phygela gained thanks to its harbour the evidence suggests that the continuity extended even to the minor importance. Up at least to the 11th century Phygela does not represent a change in settlement pattern. It was only from the 17th century as Scala Nova that this became one of the major centres of the west coast.

Anaia, lying at Kadıkalesi 9 kilometres to the south of Kuşadası, was a more important settlement than Phygela in both the Roman period and in the 12th-14th centuries. It had been an independent city from the 2nd century A.D. onwards and consequently a bishopric throughout the Christian period.[152] In the late 12th or early 13th century, to judge by the surviving walls, a major fortress was built at Anaia covering 2.25 hectares,[153] and for the rest of the 13th century it appears frequently in the sources as an important port. In the 1214 prostaxis of Theodore I Laskaris Anaia is described as an emporion,[154] like Phygela, but in the 1244 horismos of John III Batatzes and other later 13th century documents Anaia is specified as a customs station, a kommerkion, as opposed to the other coastal settlements which are merely described as skalai, harbours.[155] Apart from the portulans which do not

156. JGR I, 489; G. L. F. TAFEL, G. M. THOMAS, Urkunden zur
ältern Handels III, 71.
157. ibid. III (nr. 370: Judicum Venetorum in causis piraticis
contra Graecos decisiones) 161, 180, 184, 185, 193, 207,
211, 221, 225-6, 236, 247, 254, 256, 262, 264, 273.
158. MUNTANER 498; PACHYMERES II, 420.
159. J. KEIL 'Zur Topographie des ionischen Kuste' 154.

discriminate by the size of a settlement, whereas Phygela is not mentioned in the Latin sources, Anaia was a well known fortress and port. A quarter in Anaia was granted to the Genoese by the 1261 treaty of Nymphaion, and access was granted to the Venetians by the treaty of 1265. It was still however a Byzantine port.[156] In a list, dated March 1278, recording the outrages perpetrated by Greek pirates against Venetian citizens, Anaia appears frequently as a pirate base whose inhabitants were among the more prominent enemies of the Venetian merchants.[157] In Muntaner's account of the Catalan company's deeds in 1304 Anaia again appears as one of the key strong points of the Maeander region.[158]

After the Turkish conquest the coastal site of Anaia seems to have been soon abandoned and later its role was taken over by Scala Nova. Ottoman Anaia, still called Ania at the beginning of this century, was not a port at all but a village set on a more secure site 5 kilometres inland.[159]

The history of Anaia between the 7th and the 11th century is almost unknown. It continued to be a bishopric and as such appears in the notitiae, but otherwise the only reference to Anaia comes from the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos written in the last third of the 10th century. Nikephoros first became a monk on mount Latros, but he soon left to found his own ascetic community. The first place he chose was somewhere called Platanē, near Anaia on the north side of mount Mykale. He did

160. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 147.

161. c.f. H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer Paris (1967) 166 n. 1.

not stay there long because he clashed with the bishop of Anaia who was attempting to enforce episcopal control over the new monastery.[160] The incident is important evidence that there was a bishop of Anaia in the 10th century and that he resided in his see. It also makes it almost certain that there was a settlement called Anaia at this date. However since Platanē is otherwise unknown the incident does not reveal whether the coastal site at Kadıkalesi had been continuously occupied since the Roman period. It is a possibility, but so too would be a move to an inland site, either the same or close to that of Ottoman Ania. Looking at the history of both Anaia and Phygela from the Roman period to the present day, the second possibility may be the more likely. On the small stretch of coastal plain between mount Mykale and the Cayster, there seems to have been only room for the development of one port town in addition to Ephesos. Phygela was of little importance in the Roman period, whereas from the 17th century Scala Nova and Kuşadası have thrived. The references to Phygela in the 8th to 11th centuries need not indicate that this was a large town but they do suggest that this was the principal port of this stretch of the west coast. Nikephoros Phokas did not actually sail from Phygela in 960 but went from the headland of Hagia instead. It has been wondered whether Hagia is another name for Anaia, and although this seems rather unlikely, it is an indication that the question of continuity or otherwise on this site should be left open.[161]

The most important coastal site south of mount Mykale is

162. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 477-8; G. KLEINER, Die Ruinen von Milet 19-21.
163. G. KAWERAU, A. REHM, Das Delphinion Milet I/3, Berlin (1915) 160-1; H. KNACKFUSS, Der Südmarkt Milet I/7, Berlin (1924) 158; W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 26 n. 44; A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palastren Milet I/9, Berlin (1928) 142.
164. H. GREGOIRE RIGCAM 67-70, nrs. 219-224/2; G. KLEINER, Die Ruinen von Milet 136-7; H. KNACKFUSS, Der Südmarkt 56, 69, 151, 180, 229-61, 303 nr. 206; C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 477-8; influential Milesians at the Imperial court: A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palastren 168-71.

Miletos, occupying a small rise set amidst the muddy plains of the Maeander mouth. In the Hellenistic period Miletos had been the pre-eminent west coast port, and even if it had been subsequently overtaken as a commercial and administrative centre by Ephesos, it was still one of the more important centres of the late Roman Maeander region.[162]

The classical remains at Miletos have attracted scholarly attention since the 19th century, but despite the extensive excavations carried out by Th. Wiegand from 1899, and the present excavations which began under W. Müller-Wiener in 1961, the history of medieval Miletos remains vague. In particular a considerable amount of poor quality Byzantine housing has been noted on the ancient site but very little of it has been dated.[163]

Nonetheless the evidence is quite clear that Miletos was continuously occupied on its ancient site throughout the period up to the 11th century and beyond. In the first place Miletos was enjoying a period of renewed growth and prosperity in the 6th century. Like all cities at this period it had problems adapting its ancient structure of public buildings to new social demands but thanks to the patronage of a number of influential Milesians at Justinian's court, the city was still restoring and erecting new public buildings up to at least the end of the century.[164] The same influence at court is the probable explanation of the 6th century promotion of the see of

165. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 643.
166. A. VON GERKAN, Die Stadtmauern Milet II/3, Berlin (1935) 81-4, 114-7, 126-8.
167. A. VON GERKAN, Das Stadion Berlin (1921) 13, 41; IDEM, Die Stadtmauern 85-6, 114-7; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' Istanbuler Mitteilungen 282-5.

Miletos to the rank of an autocephalous archbishopric.[165]

Such a prosperous city would be very much the type of settlement one would expect to show resilience in the face of more difficult times. In other similar cases, such as at Philadelphia, Sardis or Smyrna, the existence of a circuit of late Roman walls seems to have been crucial in ensuring continuity on an ancient site, but at Miletos, as in fact at Ephesos, the city wall was less of an advantage. It had been erected during the reign of Gallienus (259-68) and was of a hasty and primitive construction, lacking towers, let alone the other refinements of late Roman fortification. It was also over 5 kilometres long and included large areas that were no longer essential to the city at the beginning of the 7th century.[166]

As at Ephesos, the large wall was replaced by a smaller circuit including about a quarter of the ancient city. The new wall was well built of large spolia blocks with towers positioned to provide flanking fire and it made use of various public buildings such as baths, a theatre and a ceremonial agora gate to form strong points in the circuit. The theatre in particular was developed to form a separate citadel overlooking the whole site.[167]

A terminus post quem for the walls is provided by an inscription dated to 538 set up on the agora gate to commemorate its restoration by Justinian. At the time of the restoration the

168. H. KNACKFUSS, Der Südmarkt 229-61, 303 nr. 200; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 67 nr. 219.
169. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 25 and n. 43; A. VON GERKAN, Die Stadtmauern 116.
170. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, op.cit. 25-34; and n. 50; IDEM, 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' 282-5; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 69-70 nr. 221; see P. ALLEN, 'The "Justinianic" Plague', Byzantion XLIX (1979) 5-20.

agora gate was still a free standing monumental structure. It was only later built into the circuit of walls.[168] There is no such precisely dated terminus ante quem. They are certainly early Byzantine since they were extant in the 10th or 11th century when they were destroyed by an earthquake, and the type and method of construction is similar to the other early Byzantine walls at Pergamon, Ephesos and on the acropolis at Sardis.[169] More evidence survives for the theatre castle which was an integral part of the defences, but in fact it does not do much to narrow the possible dates. A coin of Theophilos shows that it was a fortress before the 9th century. There is also an inscription cut into the outside wall of the theatre which appeals to the seven archangels to protect the inhabitants of the polis of Miletos. The lettering and language date the inscription to between the 5th and the 8th centuries. If the enemy in mind had been human this inscription would support a 7th-8th century date for the fortress, but there is no reason to prefer a human enemy to another such as the mid-6th century plague. The inscription would unfortunately fit both equally well.[170]

Further evidence of continuity lies in the complex of buildings linked with the church of St. Michael in the heart of the new walled area. The church of St. Michael is a three-aisled basilica built in the 6th century and of a type common since the 5th century. To the north is what is almost certainly the bishop's palace. On the side adjacent to the church the palace

171. Preliminary Reports: T. WIEGAND, Archäologischer Anzeiger (1904) 8-9; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Milet 1973-1975' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XXVII/XXVIII (1977-8) 94-103, 117-25; ibid. XXIX (1979) 170-73; see plan I, ibid. XXX (1980) 26; Anatolian Studies XXVIII (1978) 28; ibid. XXIX (1979) 206.
172. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 71-2 nr. 225 (mistakenly ascribed to Didyma); W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Milet 1973-1975' 117.

reuses part of a possibly 4th century peristyle house but otherwise it is a new construction of a later date made up of three porticoed ranges around a central courtyard.[171]

No coins or suitable pottery were found which could help to date the complex hence its chronology is relative to a single inscription. This records that the Patriarch Kyriakos and two of the most senior patriarchal officials decorated the church. Kyriakos was patriarch from 595 to 606 but because the phrase basileuontos men Maurikiou appears to have been deleted from line two, the inscription probable dates from 602, the year of Maurice's assassination. The inscription does not commemorate the original building of the church but rather its phylokalia (sic), 'adornment'. On the grounds that it reads pasa hē phylokalia this has been taken to include the surviving geometric floor mosaics in the church. Since there is no trace of any earlier floor level and such an otherwise impressive church could hardly have made do with a mud floor for very long it has consequently been concluded that the church itself was built only very shortly before 602.[172]

The bishop's palace has three groups of floor mosaics belonging to three different phases. The earliest appear to be late 4th century floor levels carried over from the pre-existing peristyle house. The second group of mosaics are of a geometric design of exactly the same style and type as those in the church. The third, which are part of a later but undated phase, are of a

173. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Milet 1977' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XXIX
(1979) 170-73; ibid. XXX (1980) 24-30.

figural design showing hunting scenes, fighting animals and single animals in a style which would fit a 6th-7th century date, but would not exclude one slightly later. These figural mosaics were laid down in a period of repair which presumes a certain lapse of time since the original construction. If on the basis of the similarity between the geometric mosaics in the church and the palace both buildings can be dated via the inscription to c.602, then it follows that the figural mosaics must have been laid well into the 7th century or even the 8th century. Furthermore since this is only one phase of a series of repairs the palace must have been occupied right through the early Byzantine period.[173]

This is essentially the view taken by W. Müller-Wiener but there are some caveats which should be taken into account. The main problem is that despite pasa hē phylokalia it may be rash to presume that the floor mosaics were part of Kyriakos' adornment of the church. Neither the style of the mosaics nor that of the church building itself precludes a much earlier date, even in the late 5th century. The floor mosaics could have been regarded as part of the structure of the church, Kyriakos' phylokalia being instead wall decorations or a sanctuary screen. If the original building of the church and the palace, and the laying of the geometric mosaics, were put back to, for the sake of example, the middle of the 6th century, it would still have been possible for the first repair phase and the laying of the figural mosaics to have been carried out before the onset of the 7th century crisis.

174. PAUL OF LATROS 45, 53, 63, 137.

175. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 142-5.

176. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' 285.

Yet even if this were a more correct chronology, Müller-Wiener would still be justified in seeing this complex as evidence for continuity since the repair phases would in any case extend the proven occupation of the palace through the 7th century and very probably through the whole early Byzantine period.

In the 10th century Miletos is comparatively well attested. In the Life of St. Paul of Latros, reflecting the view-point of the monks of Latros in the mid-10th century, Miletos appears several times as the major local centre of population and as a source of supplies.[174] Shortly before Nikephos Phokas' assassination in 969, St. Nikephoros was appointed archbishop of Miletos. The Life reveals nothing about the 10th century town except to show that its archbishop was resident in his see.[175]

The state of Miletos in the 11th century at the time of the Turkish invasions is unclear. During the early Comnenian period the theatre castle was rebuilt following an earthquake which destroyed the city walls. Since there is no evidence of building work between the earthquake and the Comnenian activity at the theatre castle, an early date for the earthquake might suggest a near abandonment of the site.[176]

The same earthquake destroyed the fortress at Hieron, 16 kilometres to the south of Miletos, built amongst the remains of the former temple of Apollo at Didyma. The kastron of Hieron was rebuilt and on the basis of an inscription this phase has been

177. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 74 nr. 226; A. REHM, Didyma II: Die Inschriften Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin (1958) 317 nr. 597; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 38-41; the Life of St. Paul of Latros is dated by its reference to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos, who died in 959, as 'the late', PAUL OF LATROS 72.
178. H. GREGOIRE, loc.cit.; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, op.cit. 39 n. 74; H. GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER 'Les fortresses construites en Asie Mineure face à l'Invasion Seldjoudide' Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses Munich (1960) 184; L. ROBERT, 'Sur Didymes à l'époque byzantine' Hellenica XI (1960) 496 and pl. XXI (photograph of the squeeze taken by B. Haussoullier in 1896); D. TSOUGARAKIS, Byzantine Crete, 5th-12th Century, Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford (1984) 202-6: this also confirms the reading '12th indiction' and hence the date 1088-9. For the lettering see the very similar example dated to 1079 in A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, 'Inscriptions du Peloponnèse II: Inscriptions du IX au XIV siècle' TM IX (1985) 306-7 nr. 47, Pl. XI; on Çaka, see P. GAUTIER, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis 1er Comnène' REB XXVIII (1970) 10-13.
179. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' 282-6.

dated to 988-9. Since the Life of St. Paul of Latros, which cannot be earlier than the 960s, still regards Miletos as an important settlement, the earthquake has been generally dated to the 970s or 80s.[177]

This is almost certainly a serious error. The problem has arisen because the inscription is only dated by an indication which maybe either the twelfth or the second, although a reference to Crete means it must date to after the Byzantine reconquest in 961. H. Gregoire, who first proposed the 988-9 date, believed that the Comnenian period was ruled out by the lettering. In fact the lettering would fit any date in the 10th or 11th century whereas the titles used would only have been found in the late 11th century. Hence the most likely date for the rebuilding is 1088/9 when the Byzantines were struggling to contain Çaka's naval threat in the Aegean.[178]

It follows from this that there is no reason to place the disaster before the later 11th century and it is perhaps more likely that the failure to reconstruct after the earthquake was due to the Turkish threat. The archaeological evidence suggests that for a period Miletos amounted to no more than a village within the walls of the theatre. That period was probably very short and the immediate result of the loss of the walls in the face of the new Turkish threat. It was not typical of pre-11th century Miletos.[179]

180. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et Le Golfe Latmique 20-21; A. PHILIPPSON, Das Südliche Jonien Milet III/5, Berlin (1936) 12-14; W. TURNER, Journal of a Tour in the Levant III, 93; T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898 Berlin (1904) 6-8.
181. See L. ROBERT, 'Une épigramme de Carie' Revue Philologique XXXI (1957) 7-22.
182. See L. ROBERT, 'Sur Didymes à l'époque byzantine' 490-504.
183. T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos Milet III/1, Berlin (1913) 3-4; F. KRISCHEN, Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos, Milet III/2, Berlin (1922) 1-2; A. PHILIPPSON Das Südlich Jonien
* 17-19; see STRABO XIV ii 22 for a judgement on Herakleia in the 1st century BC; difficulties of access by road: G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 211; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 189.

Miletos is not set in the most fertile part of the Maeander plain. There is better agricultural land to the north east toward Priene and to the south toward Didyma.[180] Indeed in the ancient world Miletos had to extend its territory to the Kazıklı plain beyond Didyma to support its large population.[181] The soil around Miletos is sandy and poor which makes the city's survival in the Byzantine period all the more striking. The other ancient cities in this part of the Maeander region tended also to survive on their ancient sites, but there is no evidence either of a move to the hills or of a tendency for the apparently better sited cities to take over the role of Miletos as the chief local centre.

Didyma itself survived as the bishopric, fortress and port of Hieron but it was always a very minor settlement and there is no evidence that the archbishop of Miletos ever migrated to this site.[182]

Herakleia under Latmos had never been of any importance since the advancing silt cut lake Bafa off from the sea during the 1st century A.D. Until the building of the new road in the 1960s the only access by land from the Maeander valley was by a difficult road along the northern side of the lake, and most travellers came instead by boat.[183]

The site has a continuous history up to at least the late 10th century. It was a bishopric throughout the period and in

184. MM IV, 132.

185. PAUL OF LATROS 109.

186. The identification of Melanoudion has given rise to a certain amount of controversy: T. WIEGAND Der Latmos 185 (= Myos, modern Avşar); P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Menteşe: Studie zur Geschichte West-kleinasien im 13.-15. Jahrhundert Istanbuler Mitteilungen II, Istanbul (1934) 169; J. DE JERPHANION, 'SAMPSON et AMISOS. Une ville à déplacer de neuf cent kilomètres' Orientalia Christiana Periodica I (1935) 264 n. 3 (= Mendelyat, modern Selimye); C. WENDEL, 'Planudea' BZ XL (1940) 438-43; L. ROBERT, 'Didymes à l'époque byzantine' Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 503 (= Herakleia under Latmos); W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittealterliche Befestigungen' 10 n. 10; C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 482 n. 51 (= Kazıklı kalesi); L. ROBERT, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure' BCH CII (1978) 507. As L. Robert realized, the key text is Pachymeres' account of Alexios Philanthropenos' victorious campaign of 1293. In it Melanoudion is said to be near the fortress called Duo Bounoi which lies in a limnē. The normal prose meaning of limnē is a lake and the only appropriate lake is the Bafa Gölü. Moreover Duo Bounoi means the two small hills and there is an island in the Bafa Golu which not only fits this description but has the Turkish name of Ikiz ada, the double island. Herakleia under Latmos is the nearest 13th century fortress; it was clearly an important site and it is set on rather striking black rocks which would explain the mela in the place name: PACHYMERES II, 211; L. ROBERT, 'Didymes' 503. L. Robert is however too quick to dismiss other possibilities. In particular it has always been a formidable objection that the monastery of St. John on Patmos was granted in 1214 customs exemption for two boats entering a number of west coast ports, apparently including Melanoudion. This seemed to preclude Herakleia under Latmos since it lay in a land locked lake. An explanation which would preserve the identification of Melanoudion with Herakleia has however become available with the new edition of the Patmos archives. The text of the 1214 prothesis of Theodore I Laskaris remains much the same, but in a later Horismos of 1244 the new editors have been able to read tō Melanoudiō where Miklosich and Müller had to leave a lacuna. The 1244 document is essentially a confirmation of the 1214 exemption but thanks to the new reading the horismos links Melanoudion in the exemption with Sampson, known to be an inland site. Thus Melanoudion, despite its appearance in the 1214 prothesis need not have been a coastal port. It therefore follows that C. Wendel and L. Roberts' identifications can be provisionally accepted: EP I, 226, nr. 23; 232, nr. 24, pl. XLVII; c.f. MM VI, 183.

187. PAUL OF LATROS 109.

987 Ignatios, bishop of Herakleia, witnessed the accord between the Latros monasteries of St. Paul and Lamponion.[184] More important the 10th century Life of St. Paul of Latros mentions Herakleia as a city of the ancients and said of it, "This place lacked walls and impregnable buildings because of the rough terrain and cliffs of the place and wilderness; but this does not matter for the inhabitants make use of the cliffs as much as walls for their safety".[185] This description is easily recognizable as the ancient site of Herakleia among the rocks above the modern village of Kapıkırı. It also shows that in the 10th century the settlement had not yet moved to the peninsula jutting out into lake Bafa south of the village. The peninsula is occupied by a fortress dated on the grounds of its building technique to the 12th or 13th century. This seems to be the site of Melanoudion which appears only in the 12th and 13th century sources and was part of the new Comnenian order in the Maeander region.[186] The abandonment of Herakleia presumably took place when Melanoudion was built and up to the 11th century it would have survived on the ancient site.

Although Herakleia survived through to the 11th century on its ancient site, like Phygela it was only as the very minor place it had been in the late Roman period. The Life of St. Paul of Latros, which proves the fact of continuity, also describes Herakleia as a polichnion and it never features in the Life either as a market or a centre of population.[187] Despite the advantages of its excellent defensive site and the small secluded

188. T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos.

189. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene ; C. FOSS,
'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 481-2 .

fertile plain close at hand, there is nothing to indicate an influx of population during the early Byzantine period from the cities of the Maeander plain to the north.[188]

The other city close to Miletos is Priene, set on a terrace above the northern edge of the Maeander plain with its cliff-faced acropolis rising sheer behind. Even the lower town on the terrace is on a more secure site than Miletos, while the acropolis probably the best defensive position in the entire Maeander region. The agricultural land in the plain around Priene is also considerably more fertile than that around Miletos. Like Herakleia, the Maeander silt had gradually left what had been a port far from the sea so that Priene had declined to be a very minor market town in the late Roman period. Its status as a polis ensured Priene its own bishop, hence it had a cathedral basilica kept in repair up to at least the end of the 6th century, but otherwise its public buildings were obsolete, derelict and abandoned. In contrast to Miletos, the only building remains at Priene from the 5th and 6th century are a small amount of low quality housing.[189]

Depite the lack of importance in the late Roman period one might expect the security of its position to have attracted a greater population to Priene from the 7th century onwards. The evidence for this is uncertain. Priene remained a bishopric throughout the period and there is a synodal judgement preserved from 1059 which indicates that at that date the bishop was

190. Notitiae Episcopatum passim; MANSI XIX, 896-7; V. GRUMEL
Regestes III, _____ nr. 887.
191. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene 475-93; EP II, 19 n. 50, 1.
291.
192. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, loc.cit.; W. MÜLLER-WIENER,
'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 46-56; G. DE JERPHANION,
'SAMPSON et AMISOS. Une ville à déplacer de neuf cent
kilomètres' 257-67; P. ORGELS, Sabas Asidenios, dynaste de
Sampson' Byzantion X (1935) 67-80.

resident in his see.[190] In the early Byzantine period the lower city seems to have been abandoned in favour of the acropolis. The site was excavated between 1895 and 1898, and although the absence of coins and buildings is not decisive evidence of abandonment, in this case it does appear to be confirmed by a praktikon originally drawn up in 1073 which refers to Priene as hē episkipē anō in contrast to the ancient lower town which is called a chōrion or a proasteia. [191]

The acropolis could have accommodated a sizeable settlement. There is little archaeological evidence of such a settlement but it has not been studied with that in mind. The major remains on the acropolis are fortifications. The earliest of these are 4th century B.C., and then there are at least two Byzantine phases. The second is late 12th - early 13th century almost certainly connected with the career of Sabas Asidenos who at that time used the acropolis, then known as Sampson, as his main fortress. The earlier Byzantine phase consists of a circuit of walls built of spolia blocks round a mortared rubble core. They were probably built in the 7th or 8th century. The construction is broadly similar to the early Byzantine fortifications at Sardis and Pergamon, although the closest parallel is with the early Byzantine circuit at Ephesos. [192]

These walls probably did provide security for a refugee population from the plain but that may not have been their primary purpose. The similarity with the walls at Sardis and

193. See R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 185-6.
194. K. REGLING, Die Münzen von Prienne Berlin (1927) 186.
195. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. 652, 663, 667; P. CHARANIS, 'On the Ethnic Composition of Byzantine Asia Minor', Mélanges Kyriakides Thessalonika (1953) 143; for Byzantine use of warning beacons, see P. PATTENDEN, 'The Byzantine Early Warning System' B LIII (1983) 258-99.
196. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene 14-15; OR. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 23-4; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure II, 290-93; A. PHILIPPSON, Das Südliche Jonien Milet III/5, Berlin (1936) 21-6.

Pergamon raises the possibility that Priene is not so much evidence of a civilian move to a more secure site, but another example of Imperial military enterprise. As at Sardis, the sheer cliffs of the acropolis render it almost impregnable on three sides, and from the top there is a view over the entire mouth of the Maeander, from mount Mykale in the north to the Didyma peninsula and south to lake Bafa and the mountains of Latros.[193] Indeed the find of coins of Constans II suggests the fortress may fit into the same strategic context as that at Sardis.[194] The Priene fortress continued in use after the 8th century. It may well have been used as a warning beacon of Arab raids and in the 9th and 10th centuries it seems that a coastal guard of Armenian troops was established in the Thrakesion theme with one contingent of at least five hundred men based at Priene.[195]

Behind these cities the mountains of this part of the Maeander region are wild and bleak. Some areas are covered with dense pine forest but overall, unlike mount Tmolos, they have few natural advantages and are today almost uninhabited.[196] The same seems to have applied in all periods in the past save the Byzantine when from the 9th century both mount Mykale to the north and mount Latros to the south attracted monks to their solitude.

St. Nikephoros of Miletos was the founder of the monastic community on mount Mykale. The monastery was his third attempt

197. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 147-8, 153.
198. PAUL OF LATROS 109, 112-13, 114-15, 126 et passim; MM IV, 307-8.
199. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137; PAUL OF LATROS 109; for the growing prosperity and organisation of Latros in the 10th and 11th centuries, see R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries' Byzantinische Forschungen X (1985) 186-93.

to find erēmia. The first had been near Anaia and the second near a main road which clearly excludes the wilds of the Mykale range. The name of the monastery, the Xerochoraphion, is itself an indication of the desolation of at least some parts of mount Mykale.[197] More detailed evidence for these mountains comes from the Life of St. Paul of Latros. It shows that hermits came to mount Latros in search of solitude which they found in abundance, but the mountains were also used by the population of the local towns, in particular Miletos, as grazing for their flocks. The Life is quite clear that the monks were the only permanent inhabitants of the mountains but there were enough seasonal visitors to cause conflict over pasture rights.[198] Part of the attraction may have been its inaccessibility to Arab raiders. They nonetheless attacked mount Latros in 830 and since this is probably too early for the monasteries to have been the target the raiders must have been after the animals. Indeed the Arab threat to Latros was on at least one occasion so serious that the monks had to find temporary refuge among the wilder fastneses of mount Mykale.[199]

Since Th. Wiegand's work in the 1890s onwards mount Latros has been comparatively well explored. Both it and mount Mykale are dotted with the ruins of fortified monasteries, chapels, hermitages and the castles which were built to protect them. A very few of the chapels and hermitages date from the 11th century or earlier, but the vast majority of these remains, including all the fortifications, are of the 12th and 13th century - especially the latter. There is no sign of any earlier settlements or

200. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 1-86; W. MÜLLER-WIENER,
'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 8-19.
201. W. RADT, 'Kuyruklu kalesi: Fluchtburg and Tyrannenfestung
von Mylasa in Karien', Istanbuler Mitteilungen XIX/XX
(1969/70) 167-8; see S. HORNBLOWER, Mausolus Oxford (1982)
89-100.

refuge centres and no evidence to support the idea of an early Byzantine move to the hills.[200]

The plain of Mylasa lies at the south western corner of the Maeander region, south of mount Latros. In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. its settlement pattern has been described as one of mountain fortresses and refuge centres together with at first dispersed villages in the plain and later more urban but still undefended concentrations such as the Mausolean foundation of Mylasa.[201] The two principal fortresses are the Kuyruklu kalesi in the mountains overlooking the plain east of Mylasa, and the Peğin kale in a similar position to the south. Both these were ancient centres of population and defence and they were both re-occupied at some stage in the Byzantine period. It has been suggested that this is part of a general return to the pre-Hellenistic settlement pattern in this area, but as elsewhere in the Maeander region first impressions may be deceptive.

The Kuyruklu kalesi is built on a waterless peak above the village of Yusufça Köyü. The fields around the village are well cultivated and fertile but to reach the castle itself involves a hard climb over thorn covered boulders. The castle shows clear evidence of three building phases. The first two, making up most of the circuit are ancient. The earliest is pre-Hellenistic; the later can be dated to the 4th-3rd century B.C. and is associated with Eupolemos, a Macedonian who became a Hellenistic tyrant of Mylasa. The third phase belongs to a single period of

202. W. RADT, op.cit. 169, 174-6.

medieval construction which involved the addition of several metres of mortared fieldstone to the evidently long ruined ancient walls. This phase also saw the addition of several new towers lacking in the ancient plan. The interior is filled by considerable ancient remains but there is apparently no evidence for any medieval settlement inside the walls.

The date of the medieval phase is uncertain. The type of wall construction - uncoursed mortared fieldstone with very small quantities of brick fragments - suggests a late date. The closest parallel appears to be in the 13th century additions to the acropolis castle at Priene, but a date after the Turkish conquest in the 1290s would be equally possible. Dating on the basis of wall type alone is not an exact science, but with that in mind there seems to be nothing to suggest a date for the medieval phase earlier than the 12th century.[202]

The Peçin kale is a much more complicated site. It consists of a castle and a large walled lower town both set above the plain of Mylasa with the kale itself on a volcanic plug which rises nearly sheer at the north end of the site. Excavations are being carried out at the moment by a Turkish team. Nothing has been published so far and their presence means that only restricted access to the site is possible. In 1982 I was fortunate to be shown round part of the excavations and to discuss what had been found with one of the Turkish archaeologists. The excavation has produced firm evidence for

the Hellenistic site and also uncovered the very extensive and impressive remains of the 14th century capital of the Menteşe Emirate. By contrast the evidence for the Byzantine period is scanty and what remains points to the 12th or 13th century as the main period of Byzantine occupation. Much more Byzantine evidence, however, could underly the buildings of the Menteşe period.

Only one Byzantine coin had been found up to 1982 and this was an undated scyphate, hence the 11th to 13th century. The pottery needs proper study but the initial impression was that apart from the obviously Turkish ware, the most common type of medieval pottery was a glazed ware which could be as late as the 14th century but was no earlier than the 11th. For much of this pottery the excavators have as yet found it impossible to say whether it was late Byzantine or Turkish.

I was not allowed to see anything of the walls of the lower city but the interior is filled by Turkish buildings dating from the Menteşe and Ottoman periods constructed of very fine quality masonry. Apart from the six baths and two mosques the türbe of Ahmet Ghazi stands out for its high quality ashlar masonry and fine carving around its south gate. For the opposite reason the only Byzantine building evident in the lower city stands out for its poor mortared fieldstone walls and small size. This is a rectangular structure, approximately 5 x 3 metres and surviving to about half a metre above ground. Since its axis runs east-

west and there is an apse at the east end it was presumably a chapel but in the short time I was there I could see no means of dating it until excavation can provide a context.

Turning to the fortress itself, on the basis of rather insufficient observation I could identify at least four distinct types of masonry.

Type I is the technique used in a single tower and adjacent wall above the cliff on the west side of the castle. Under the circumstances of my visit I did not notice the peculiar construction of this section at the time, but it stands out clearly on a photograph showing a general view of that side of the castle. Presumably the tower has a rubble core like the others, but it is distinctive in being neatly faced in ashlar or spolia blocks without the use of brick infill characteristic of type II and III, and which is clearly visible on other photographs taken at a similar distance.

Type II consists of mortared fieldstone with brick fragments. Much of the curtain wall on the north side as well as the inner parts of the south gate complex is built in this manner. The wall towers of this type are distinguished by ashlar quoins.

Type III is constructed of a similar mortared fieldstone core with a facing of ashlar or spolia blocks each surrounded by

203. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 62.
204. See W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 98-112.
205. See W. MÜLLER-WIENER, op.cit. 13, 15, 20-22, 115-116; C. FOSS 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 316-20.

a border of bricks and brick fragments. This type of masonry appears principally on the south side facing the lower town and in the outer parts of the south gate complex.

Type IV is of simple mortared fieldstone, uncoursed and with no brick. This is the construction of various late repairs and additions. It is also that of the houses of the Turkish village which survived on the kale until the middle of this century.

Suggested dates for these walls are bound to be tentative. Type IV however can be dealt with easily. This is the latest repair phase. The castle was kept in repair as late as the 1730s[203] and this type of masonry is presumably the work of local masons during the Ottoman period whose techniques were still being used by villagers in the 20th century. Type III can be dated as Turkish work of the 14th or 15th century. Very similar masonry is common in the Maeander region and the closest parallel is to be found in the Aydinoğlu and Ottoman additions to the castle at Ayasuluk.[204] The type II masonry is more difficult. In general such mortared fieldstone and brick infill walls are regarded as 12th century or later, but there are marked differences between the type of masonry used in these parts of the Peçin kale and that of the Byzantine buildings dated to the 13th century found around lake Bafa and on mount Latros.[205] The latter is characterized by the use of large amounts of brick where available and by rather haphazard coursing of the

206. See T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 73-9, and plan 5.
207. C. FOSS, Kütahya 71-3, 84-5, pls. 19, 20, 21, 51 and 60.
208. IBN BATTUTA II, 429.

fieldstone. Unlike the Peçin kale where all the walls bar the modern additions of type IV use a mortared rubble core, the technique used in the Byzantine fortifications is that of a thinner wall supported by parallel retaining arches on the inner face.[206] The quoins on the Peçin kale towers also have no known parallel in the Byzantine works. Finally the masons of the Peçin kale seem to have made an extraordinary effort to maintain neat and level courses in a manner very distinct from the dated Byzantine work. Given the imperfect state of knowledge of Byzantine building techniques in this region any date is open to question, but it seems probable that the type II walls, and hence the greater part of the Peçin kale are of the Turkish rather than the Byzantine period. Although perhaps too far away to be strictly valid the closest parallel to the type II masonry is the phase III work at Kütahya which has been dated to the early 14th century.[207]

On this analysis most of the present Peçin kale is of the Menteşe period. This receives some support from the account Ibn Battuta gives of the Menteşe Emir, Orhan Bey, whom he visited in 1331 or very shortly before: "His residence is in the city of Barjin [Peçin], which is close to Milâs, there being two miles between them. It is a new place, on a hill there, and has fine buildings and mosques. He had built there a congregational mosque, which was not yet complete." [208] Ibn Battuta is mainly referring to the town rather than the kale itself, but the reference to Peçin as a "new place" would fit with a previously

209. See also the Peçin kale, P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Menteşe 127-9, c.f. date suggested *ibid.* 128; A. AKARCA, T. AKARCA, Milâs, Coğrafyası, Tarihi ve Arkeolojisi Istanbul (1954) 116-21.
210. K. JEPPESEN, The Propylaea Labraunda I/1, Lund (1955) 2-3, 31-2; A. WESTHOLM, The Architecture of the Hieron Labraunda I/2, Lund (1963) 1-5, 7-10, 86, 106-14, 117; P. HELLSTRÖM, Pottery of Classical and later date, Terracotta lamps and Glass Labraunda II/1, Lund (1965) 40-41, 43, 46-7, 49-52, 54.

unimportant or deserted site. If the kale had been extant before the early 14th century it would have amounted to a fairly substantial Byzantine site which would hardly have fitted Ibn Battuta's description.

The only major exception to a primarily Menteşe date for the fortress may be the single tower and adjacent wall of type I which could be of the earlier Byzantine period. However since I am not in a position to discuss this with any confidence the question has to remain open.[209]

Another important site which can provide evidence for the history of settlement in the plain of Mylasa is the Hekatomid cult site of Labraunda in the mountains south east of Latros on the north side of the plain. This is an ideal refuge centre: a good defensive site set amidst terraces of fertile agricultural land, high in the mountains, hidden from view and with quantities of ancient remains to reuse for building materials. If there had been a general move to the hills in the early Byzantine period Labraunda would certainly have been reoccupied. Yet a careful excavation by a Swedish team from 1949 to 1960 proved, perhaps rather surprisingly, that the site was abandoned at the end of the 6th century and not re-occupied until the 10th or 11th century.[210]

The evidence from the hills around the plain of Mylasa would thus fit in with a case for continuity on the late Roman

211. D. LEVI, 'Le due prime campagne di scavo a Iasos (1960-1961)' Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene N.S. XXIII-IV (1961-2) 529, 536, 544-7; IDEM 'Le campagne 1962-1964 a Iasos' ibid. N.S. XXVII-VIII (1965-6) 408, 425-6, 462-3, 463-7; IDEM, 'Gli Scavi di Iasos' ibid. N.S. XXIX-XXX (1967-8) 538-9, 544-9; American Journal of Archaeology LXXVII (1973) 184; ibid. LXXVIII (1974) 122-3; ibid. LXXX (1976) 277.
212. A. and T. AKARCA, Milâs 86-9; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 20; there are also a number of 5th and 6th century inscriptions, including an important prefectorial edict issued between 480 and 486 against tax fraud, RIGCAM 81-6, nrs. 239-42; for the date of nr. 240, 82-3, see PLRE II, 339; L. ROBERT, Études Anatoliennes 543.
213. A. and T. AKARCA, Milâs 91-115; 'Milâs' EI/1, 495-7; P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Menteşe 125-7.

city sites in this area, but unfortunately there is very little positive evidence from the cities themselves. The best example of continuity comes from the coastal site of Iasos on the gulf of Güllük where an Italian team is still excavating. Preliminary reports refer to a wall, apparantly built in the early Byzantine period, which encloses a reduced part of the ancient site, and also to various structures dated by coin finds to the 10th and 11th centuries. So far nothing has been found to suggest anything other than a continuous occupation of the site from the late Roman period onwards.[211]

The river system of the plain of Mylasa reaches the sea at the gulf of Güllük but Iasos itself lies on the northern side of the gulf separated from the plain by a range of mountains and the sea. The principal ancient site of the plain proper was Mylasa, but of its Byzantine history very little is known. As with so many of the more important sites throughout the Maeander region Mylasa has been continuously occupied throughout the modern period by a thriving town. Very few remains of antiquity have survived, still less of the middle ages, and there has been no excavation. Nonetheless those fragments that do remain show that Mylasa was a prosperous late Roman city with sufficient wealth to build imposing walls and to repair an earlier Roman aqueduct.[212] They also show that late medieval Mylasa was a similarly prosperous settlement with a continuous history from at least the 1330s.[213] The written evidence confirms this impression. The 5th century Life of St. Xenia implies an active

214. 'S. Eusebiae seu Xenae vita' ed. T. Nissen, AB LVI (1983) 110-11, 114; A. CALMELS, 'Sainte Xéni à Myalsa', EO II (1899) 352-6; the importance of the bishop in late Roman Mylasa is confirmed by a number of episcopal inscriptions dating from the 5th and 6th century, RIGCAM nr. 239, 81; nr. 239/2, 81; nr. 239/3, 82; nr. 239/5, 82; nr. 240/3, 85.
215. IBN BATTUTA 428-9.
216. Notitiae Episcopatum passim; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 384-5, nrs. 522 and 522/2.
217. MM IV, 324-5; the date in this document reads 'the month of April, the 2nd Indiction, 6635'. This raises problems in that 6635 AM, which is equivalent to 1127 AD, is in the 5th rather than the 2nd Indiction. Some emendation is clearly necessary, but H. Ahrweiler's suggestion of 1133 has no obvious merit, c.f. H. AHRWEILER 'La Région de Smyrne' 128-9; see also C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 485-6, n. 85.
218. ANNA COMNENA III, 26-7, 154-5; Neokastra was by contrast a more general term for an area and a group of new castles, NIKETAS CHONIATES 150.
219. See supra n. 186 .

Roman urban community headed by the bishop.[214] In the 14th century Ibn Battuta visited Mylasa and described it as "... one of the finest and most extensive cities in the land of al-Rum, with quantities of fruits, gardens and waters." He also noted Mylasa's fine hamams and mosques.[215]

In both the late Roman period and the 14th century onwards the surviving monuments show that Mylasa occupied the present site in the plain. The history of the intervening centuries is much more vague. Mylasa is attested as a bishopric throughout the Byzantine period and there are two seals known from the 10th and 11th century recording John and Leo as bishops of Mylasa.[216] Otherwise there is no mention before 1127 when the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion appears as one of the new administrative units set up in the Comnenian reorganization of western Asia Minor.[217] Mylasa in this context could be merely a territorial indication, possibly referring to the plain, but comparison with other new Comnenian themes suggests this is unlikely to be so. Smyrna, Philadelphia and Ephesos were all named after their principal fortresses.[218] Melanoudion was almost certainly Herakleia under Latmos, and if not it was another neighbouring fortress. Melanoudion is not attested as a general name for the territory of lake Bafa and mount Latros, hence there is little likelihood that Mylasa was used in that sense either.[219]

It is thus fairly certain that Mylasa was a fortress and

220. IBN BATTUTA 428-9.
221. 'Milâs' EI/1, 495-6; A. and T. Akarca, Milâs 91-2, 94-103.
222. X. DE PLANHOL, 'Le Cadre Géographique: Le pays de Laodicée - Denizli' in J. Des Gagniers et al. Laodicée du Lykos, Le Nymphée Quebec - Paris (1969) 393-400.
223. R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture in South Western Anatolia 24-32, 32-6.

centre of population in the 12th and 13th century but the place-name might have moved from ancient city site in the plain. If this were so then the only realistic possibility is that the name had moved to the Peçin kale. The archaeological evidence discussed above does not encourage this view but there is what appears to be a small Byzantine chapel on the lower part of the site and the possibility cannot be ruled out of consideration on archaeological grounds alone. Nonetheless for a number of reasons such a move is rather unlikely.

In the first place whatever the exact significance of Ibn Battuta's description of the Peçin kale as a "new place", in the context of his account it is definitely 'new' in contrast to Mylasa in the plain.[220] Since the Menteşe emirate had only been established about forty years at the time of his visit it makes it almost certain that Turkish Mylasa was on the site of the pre-existing Byzantine fortress.

The sites of the early mosques at Mylasa also confirm this view. All but one of the 14th and 15th century mosques were placed outside the city wall.[221] In a number of medieval Turkish towns many of the population lived, as Ibn Battuta implies was the case here, in the gardens surrounding the city.[222] Even so the examples of Birgi and Tire show that mosques were normally built inside the walls[223] and in any case the arrangement at Mylasa presupposes that the interior was already occupied. The existence of this settlement inside the

224. A. and T. AKARCA, Milâs 98-9; 'Milâs' EI/1, 495-6.

walls by the beginning of the 14th century and the absence of mosques suggests that Mylasa was a Christian town before the Turkish conquest.

The only medieval mosque in the centre of Mylasa is the Bülent Cami, set in the highest part of the town and according to the Turkish historians, A. and T. Akarca, constructed out of the remains of an earlier church on the same site. Since they wrote in 1954 the Bülent Cami has been substantially restored and redecorated, and there has been no proper study of the structure. On the basis of a brief visit in 1982 I am not certain that the evidence for re-use amounts to any more than walls built of Roman and late Roman spolia blocks.[224]

If Mylasa was already a town on the ancient site before the Menteşe conquest it is very unlikely to have been a recent foundation of the 12th or 13th century. Throughout the region the later Byzantine period, from the first appearance of the Turks in later 11th century onward, was one when a good defensive position became a paramount factor in the choice of a settlement site. By contrast the site of Mylasa had been noted since antiquity for the very opposite reason. At the beginning of the 1st century A.D. Strabo said of Mylasa, "it lies in a very fertile plain; and above rising to a peak is a mountain which has a very fine quarry of white stone ... But one may well be amazed at those who so absurdly founded the city at the foot of a steep and commanding crag. Accordingly one of the [Roman] commanders, amazed at the fact, is said to have said, 'If the man

225. STRABO XIV, ii, 23.

226. Since I first wrote this passage I have continued to work on the Classical and Byzantine sites in the region. Several more could now be added to the discussion, but since they merely provide further examples of the same pattern it seemed better to set them aside for a fuller treatment elsewhere.

who founded this city was not afraid, was he not even ashamed?"[225] For a site so open as Mylasa to have been an important centre in the 13th century it must have been important before the Turkish conquests. It is thus at the very least probable that Mylasa, like Philadelphia whose site it very much resembles, was a continuously occupied site throughout the Byzantine period. The Peğin kale is an excellent site whose defensive advantages the Byzantines are unlikely to have ignored, but it seems that it was not until the Menteşe Emirate brought a new political and cultural order to the area that Mylasa was even partially and temporarily superseded as the major centre of this part of the Maeander region.

Returning to the Maeander valley and its adjacent hills and moving east along its course toward the Lykos valley and the central plateau, the same basic pattern can be detected. the evidence is still scanty and a more detailed picture may only emerge when Byzantine pottery can be easily identified in the field, but there is sufficient evidence to support the general picture of continuity in the settlement pattern up to the appearance of the Turks. Again it is increasingly clear that the great castle building phase when the population took to the hills occurred not in the early Byzantine period in the face of the Arabs, but instead two centuries and more later in the face of the Turks.

Not all the cities of this area can be discussed.[226] In

227. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 124-5, 139, 208; C. HUMANN, Magnesia am Maeander. Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1891-1893 Berlin (1904) 1-5; O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 117-34.
228. C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure III, 35-43, 96-9; see also the report by M. Azan, surgeon to the expedition, ibid. 104-5.

many cases there is no evidence but the silence should not be taken as indicative of their fate. Wherever a judgement is possible it seems that these sites were continuously occupied through to the 11th century. This applies equally to cities in the Maeander plain as to those in the north Carian hills, and to cities on open sites in the plain as much as to those in good defensive positions.

In the main Maeander valley and its major southern tributaries the most important cities are Tralles, Magnesia, Nysa, Mastaura, Tripolis, Aphrodisias, Alabanda and Alinda. Magnesia, Mastaura, Tripolis and Aphrodisias are set on open sites similar to that of Mylasa, where they all benefitted from easily accessible high-quality agricultural land. Their fates varied but in each case there is some evidence for continuity.

Magnesia on the Maeander is set in a fertile plain on the north side of the Maeander at the confluence of the river Lethaios where the main river turns toward the south-west and the sea. The site is open to serious silting from the river and is overlooked by the surrounding hills.[227] Over the last century and a half the site is known to have flooded regularly in winter. In the mid 1830s the French expedition to Magnesia found work was impossible after the beginning of November and its members suffered badly from malaria.[228] These conditions have been kept in check by modern drainage and similar efforts in antiquity combined with a different course taken by the Maeander would have

229. C. HUMANN, Magnesia am Maeander 32-3; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 88; C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 482-3.

made this a more advantageous site in the past. Magnesia was a very large Hellenistic and Roman city which was still prosperous in the late Roman period.

In the early Byzantine period a wall was built enclosing about a tenth of the ancient site. It is constructed of large spolia blocks facing a core of mortared rubble. The walls are undated but they are very similar in technique and appearance to those at Sardis, Ephesos and Pergamon and thus can be dated with some confidence to around the 7th or 8th century. The area within these walls is between 8 and 10 hectares which makes it rather larger than a fort and comparable to other medieval towns in Asia Minor and in the mediterranean world as a whole.[229]

The walls are not the only good evidence for a settlement on the site in the early Byzantine period. In 1874 O. Rayet copied an inscription asking the Lord to protect his servant the Strategos of the Thrakesioi. The stone was found in a house at the nearby village of Kemer, but since all the other more ancient spolia had come from Magnesia, this inscription almost certainly came from there too. The stone bears no date, however the title strategos was only current for the Thrakesioi between the later 7th and the 11th century, and the lettering would tend to point toward the earlier part of that period. The inscription not only shows that Magnesia was occupied during the Byzantine period, but also supports the idea that the walls had been an official military building project on the same pattern as those at Sardis.

230. B. HAUSSOULLIER, 'Dédicace d'un stratège des Thrakésiens' Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger I, Paris (1924) 101-4; Strategoi, see infra 290 f
231. MANSI XI, 676, 993.
232. PAUL OF LATROS 116; LAZAROS 509; there are also two episcopal seals but it is not clear to which Magnesia they belong, V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 189-90, nrs. 270 and 271.
233. NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS I, 214.
234. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 57-65, 88-9; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure II, 278-93; II, 83-4, 87-8.

The inscription may even have been a record of the strategos' role in their construction or repair.[230]

Other evidence from the early Byzantine period is the presence of bishop Patrikios of Magnesia at both the church councils of 680 and 692. At the latter his see was styled protomaian droupolis. [231] A bishop of Magnesia is again attested in the mid-10th century Life of St. Paul of Latros which refers to a monk who came from a monastery under the bishop's control. In the late 10th century the future St. Lazaros of mount Galesion was born in a village near Magnesia.[232] Otherwise there is still no mention of the site, apart from episcopal lists, until the 14th century when Nikephoros Gregoras reports that it fell to the Turks in 1304.[233] Since there is no indication that Magnesia had ever moved to a site in the nearby hills,[234] it is fairly safe to presume that there had been continuously a settlement within the circuit of Byzantine walls.

Mastaura is another open site further to the east along the Maeander valley about 3.5 kilometres north east of the present town of Nazilli. It is a little known site which deserves particular attention because its continuity on the same spot through to the 11th century can be proved by two reliable sources, a 9th century Saint's Life and the documentary evidence of a Jewish marriage contract dated to 1022. In the later Byzantine period after the appearance of the Turks Mastaura moved to a nearby hill top site. In the light of the evidence so far

235. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maendrum nach Forschungen und Aufnahmen in den Jahren 1907 und 1909 Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts X, Berlin (1913) 18-20.

discussed Mastaura thus stands as something of a model for the history of city sites in the Maeander region during the Byzantine period.

Roman Mastaura is on a small plain where one of the larger streams from the Messogis, the Chrysaoras river, cuts through the foothills. The site has not been excavated nor properly surveyed but it is easily identifiable from the mass of Roman ruins.[235]

The site is open and overlooked by surrounding hills but it perhaps does have some defensive advantages which should not be overlooked. Mastaura is set back from the Maeander plain and the main road, the side of modern Nazilli, among the heavily eroded landscape of the upper terrace which separates mount Messogis from the plain. Around Mastaura the landscape is curiously inaccessible. Streams from the Messogis range and seasonal rains have cut the soft conglomerate into a maze of steep sided peaks and plateaux interspersed with small basins of fertile alluvium. Even on the steepest of slopes the ground is covered with dense vegetation, natural or cultivated, and the area is criss-crossed by small and winding sunken paths. Unguided the visitor can easily get lost.

This slight isolation may have helped to protect the site but it also had the effect that Mastaura was not an important place in the ancient world. It is rarely mentioned in literary

236. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78;
B. V. HEAD, Historia Numorum 2nd Edn. Oxford (1911) 653;
R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 263, 270,
189, 310; see STRABO XIV, i, 47.

237. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 67-8.

sources and inscriptions, and seems not to have ranked as a city until the 1st century AD when Mastaura may have been promoted by Tiberius. The city minted coins from that date until the reign of Valerian but they are extremely rare.[236] Nonetheless the ruins are quite extensive and their large scale, typical of Roman public buildings suggests a fairly prosperous city. Indeed Mastaura is further evidence of the all pervasive nature of Roman urban culture under the Empire. The ruins are today hidden under thick vegetation and landslips and moreover have been used as a quarry for building stone by the inhabitants of Nazilli since at least the 18th century.[237]

About 200 metres to the east of the Roman site the ground rises steeply out of the valley of the Chrysaoras towards a lofty hill densely covered with trees and thornbushes. It is sheer on all sides save on the west, which faces the Roman city below. Here the cliffs are lower and two arms of the hill form a steep but not inaccessible gully. This is partially blocked by a Byzantine wall about two metres thick and neatly constructed of alternate bands of brick and mortared rubble. Once one has surmounted the surrounding cliffs the top of the hill slopes at about forty degrees toward the west, save at the two highest points, to the north and south, where there are two small areas of level ground on which are the remains of more Byzantine walls and a tower. These are constructed of mortared fieldstone with brick fragments. Further down the slope of the northern arm of the hill there is a neatly constructed and well preserved brick

238. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maeandrum 20; K. KURUNIOTIS, 'Anaskafai en Nyse te epi Maiandro' Deltion VII (1921-2) 1-88, 227-46.
239. T. REINACH, 'Un Contrat de Mariage du Temps de Basile le Bulgaroctone' in Mélanges offerts a M. Gustave Schlumberger I, Paris (1924) 123; J. MANN, The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs Oxford (1920-22) I, 87, 88-9, 91, 92-3; II, 92, 94; J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch - Neu griechischen Philologie 30, Athens (1939) 188; see infra 256f .
240. BHG
241. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum' PG XCIX, 289.

cistern.

Despite the lack of proper archaeological examination the basic outline of the settlements's history can be established with some assurance. Van Diest, who examined Mastaura before the Great War, and Kuruniotis, who excavated at Nysa during the Greek occupation from 1919 to 1922 but who also made some examination of the ruins at Mastaura, both noted the remains of a city wall surrounding the Roman site built of very neatly coursed fieldstone over a rubble core in the same style as the late Roman walls at nearby Nysa and at Sardis.[238]

In the 11th century the area within this wall was definitely the site of Mastaura. In the 1022 marriage contract the clause describing the house refers to an entrance "on the river bank".[239] This would in any case rule out the hill top site but since the Chrysaoras flows through the middle of Roman Mastaura, there can be no doubt that this was where the house lay.

The possibility that the Jews' house was part of a new 10th or 11th century suburb can be rejected because there is also evidence from the 9th century that Mastaura still occupied the old Roman lower town. In the B version of the Life of St. Theodore the Stoudite written in the mid-9th century by the monk Michael the Stoudite and contained in Codex Vaticanus 608,[240] Mastaura is described as a polis. [241] The word has the proper

242. ibid. 304-5.
243. ibid. 304.
244. ibid. 288.
245. ibid. 305, 308.
246. Notitiae Episcopatum passim.
247. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum' 289.
248. ibid. 289-92.
249. See infra 446f.

sense of an urban settlement, at least as opposed to a village, or a castle, a fortress, a suburb, or even a refuge site. Because Michael carefully distinguishes other settlements as kōmē,[242] topos,[243] phrourion,[244] or chōrion,[245] the description of Mastaura as a polis can hardly be accidental, and since the word is found nowhere else in the Life it cannot be merely the result of literary variation. The use of the word polis must imply that in the first half of the 9th century Mastaura was sufficiently a town for this to have been the proper term.

One of the factors in Michael's choice of polis as the proper description of Mastaura would have been his awareness that it was a bishopric.[246] Only poleis had bishops and hence any settlement with a bishop was a polis. The context in which the word appears is the story of "a certain notable cleric coming from the land of the Thrakesioi, in particular the polis of Mastaura",[247] who went to visit his relations in the Anatolikon at Bonita in Phrygia, where St. Theodore the Stoudite was imprisoned for a period between 815 and 821. The cleric was converted to the iconodule "true faith" by the saint, and subsequently returned to Mastaura where he caused a local schism against the iconoclast bishop.[248]

The incident provides important evidence for the role and position of the bishop and clergy in the middle Byzantine period, and this will be discussed below,[249] but here it is sufficient

250. C. FOSS, Kütahya 68-71.

251. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 206-9,
figs. 12-17; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche
Befestigungen' 49-56.

to note that Michael's account shows the existence of a sizeable clerical community in Mastaura. This probably implies the continued use of at least one of the city's late Roman churches and certainly rules out the possibility that there was no more to 9th century Mastaura than a small fort on the hill.

Turning to the hill, there is no evidence that it was occupied before the 12th century. At some date the site was fortified and the position of the lower wall in the western gully and the cistern on the northern arm suggests that this was done on a large scale. However although the cistern is undated the lower wall appears to be mid-12th century. The closest parallel to its opus mixtum construction is that of the phase II work at Kütahya which has been approximately dated to between 1120 and 1150.[250] A similar date would be appropriate for the construction of Mastaura fortress. An important factor is that Turkish raiders coming from the east would be visible from the peak as far as the beginning of the Lykos valley and a strong force at Mastaura would have been well placed to harass returning raiders.

The walls and the tower on top of the hill are later than the 12th century circuit wall below. The closest parallels are to be found in the late 12th and 13th century walls at Magnesia on Sipylon (modern Manisa), and the Samsun kale on the acropolis at Priene.[251]

252. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 51-2; C. FOSS 'Late Fortifications in Lydia' 299-302.
253. T. R. S. BROUGHTON 'Roman Asia Minor' in An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome ed. T. Frank, IV, Baltimore (1938) 724; C. FOSS, op.cit. 299.
254. C. FOSS, loc.cit.

For the site as a whole the evidence strongly suggests that a settlement of some sort survived on the Roman site through to the arrival of the Turks. The subsequent fate of the lower town is unknown but it seems that the presence of the Turks led to the occupation and fortification of the hill top site. As at Sardis by the 14th century Mastaura had probably moved inside its own castle but there is nothing to suggest that it had done so in the 7th or 8th century.

Tripolis, lying about 65 kilometres due east of Mastaura at the point where the Maeander river emerges into the lower valley, is another ancient city set on an open site and overlooked by a nearby hill which seems not to have been fortified until after the appearance of the Turks. As with Mastaura, the site has been neither excavated nor surveyed, but its later Byzantine history is comparatively well documented and unlike Mastaura, it does have the considerable advantage that both the ancient lower town and the acropolis are free of dense thornbush and are hence reasonably accessible.[252]

In the Roman period Tripolis was rather overshadowed by the rise of Laodicea, but even so the abundant coinage and extensive ruins show the Roman city to have been wealthy and thriving.[253] This prosperity was still evident in the late Roman period when a city wall was constructed in coursed mortared fieldstone of a type familiar from Sardis and Philadelphia.[254] The ancient city was set in a small portion of the plain slightly protected

255. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 265-6, nr. 371.
256. ANSBERT, Historia de expeditione Friderci Imperatoris MGH, Scr. Rer. Germ. N. S. V., Berlin (1928) 75; Historia Peregrinorum ibid. 154-5.

by low hills, but aside from the acropolis hill to the north-east which lay well outside the late Roman wall, the site has no natural defensive advantages.

Instead the citizens must have relied upon the wall. The circuit is not excessively large, unlike for example the Lysimachian walls at Ephesos, and the wall is well built between 2.5 and 3 metres thick. It also takes advantage of the ancient theatre, a temple and a large public bath complex built of massive ashlar blocks to create powerful bastions on the more exposed southern side. No other nearby site in the hills is known, but in any case no such site was likely to offer much better security.

Tripolis appears in the acts of the councils up to the Photian synod of 879, and in the Notitia throughout the Byzantine period, during which it was the second suffragan bishopric of the province of Sardis, after Philadelphia. A single seal of a bishop of Tripolis is known dating from the later 11th century.[255] Otherwise there seems to be no mention of Tripolis until the 24th April 1190 when Frederick Barbarossa's army, en route for the Third Crusade, passed by the "dirutam civitatem que Minor Tripolis dicebatur" which the crusaders actually mistook for Thyateira, a city much further to the north.[256]

In theory Tripolis could have been abandoned for centuries but if the minor bishopric and settlement of Mastaura survived on

257. ibid. 74-5, 154-6.

258. See C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 301-2.

its Roman site it is difficult to imagine why the larger town of Tripolis should have been deserted in the early Byzantine period. Mastaura is rather more isolated from the main road but then Tripolis appears to have had better walls. By contrast the cause of abandonment in the 12th century is absolutely clear. In April 1190 the crusaders saw large numbers of Turkoman nomads and their flocks in the Lykos valley.[257] In the early Byzantine period in the face of the Arab threat a population could have survived at Tripolis going out of the walls to farm the surrounding hills. Even if the Turks had not taken the city they could have prevented farming of the surrounding land and consequently forced the population to move elsewhere.

Confirmation of this hypothesis will have to wait until Tripolis is surveyed and even excavated, but the crusader account does make one thing certain: the castle, which now occupies the hill overlooking Roman Tripolis from the north-east was not there in 1190. In fact a late date for the castle would have been inferred from the masonry, which appears to be Lascarid,[258] but it is encouraging to see the chronology of masonry types confirmed by written sources. On the hill there is nothing to suggest any earlier medieval occupation than the 13th century. Clearly if the presence of bishops of Tripolis at 8th and 9th century councils has any significance for the history of the town, their episcopal seat had not migrated to the hill top, but had stayed put on the old Roman site.

259. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 146, 233, 254, 270-81.
260. Hopefully this will be remedied in due course: see R. CORMACK 'The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: the Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias' in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition 103 n. 1; Anatolian Studies XXXII (1982) 10.

A final piece of supporting evidence can be found in the distribution of pottery fragments on site. The upper slopes of the castle hill are covered with a fairly dense scatter of 13th century sgraffito ware. Most of this has a distinctive pale green and brown glaze over a pale pinkish body. Nothing of this type is at all evident in the lower town. There most of the pottery is clearly Roman but there is a great deal of various undated coarse wares which could easily have been produced during the Byzantine period.

The other main open site in this part of the Maeander region is Aphrodisias - or Stauropolis as it was known from the 7th century - lying in the valley of the Dandalas, a southern tributary of the Maeander river. In the centre of Aphrodisias is a prehistoric settlement mound or hüyük which is defensible but otherwise the site lies in an open position in the Dandalas plain.[259]

The current excavations at Aphrodisias are one of the major archaeological projects in the region but as has already been noted they are of less importance to the Byzantinist than might have been desired. In theory the work carried out there since 1961 should produce a detailed picture of the Byzantine city and the opportunity to establish a stratified chronology of Byzantine pottery types but so far this has not occurred.[260] Nonetheless these excavations do provide conclusive evidence of what is only hypothesis elsewhere. The exact nature of Byzantine Aphrodisias

261. See R. CORMACK, 'The Classical Tradition' 103-18; infra
262 -3 .
262. Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi XVII/1 (1968) 43-4; ibid. XVIII/2
(1969) 87-8; ibid. XIX/1 (1970) 55-6; ibid. XXII/2 (1975)
73-4.

remains unclear but there is no doubt that the site was occupied continuously from the late Roman period up to the 12th century.[261]

The details of the evidence will be discussed below for what it can reveal of a middle Byzantine city in the Maeander region, but here it is worth noting that the centre of early and middle Byzantine Aphrodisias seems to have remained around the Church of St. Michael, converted from the former temple of Aphrodite in the heart of the Roman city, rather than on the hüyük to the south. Indeed it is unclear at what date the hill was occupied and the theatre turned into a fortress. It could have been as late as the 12th century, and if it was earlier, this would only have amounted to a fortified acropolis in the midst of a larger settlement whose focus lay elsewhere.[262]

There are a number of other important ancient sites occupying open positions in this part of the Maeander which could be discussed in this context, but two in particular are worthy of note: Antioch on the Maeander and Harpasa.

Antioch on the Maeander was a Roman city of moderate importance which came to prominence as one of the key Byzantine settlements in this region during the 12th and especially 13th century. The site is little known and there is no adequate published description. As yet it is impossible to be certain, but there is every likelihood that Antioch was another ancient

263. A. PHILIPPSON 'Reisen und Forschungen' CLXXX (1914) 94;
ibid. CLXXXIII (1915) 26 and 40.
264. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor 128, 988-9; STRABO XIII,
iv, 15; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 291; Not. 2, nr.
354; Not. 3, nr. 472; Not. 4, nr. 309; Not. 7, nr. 368;
Not. 9, nr. 250; Not. 10, nr. 302; Not. 13, nr. 306; see
also infra 446f. ; MANSI XVII, 373.

site which continued to be occupied through the 7th and 11th centuries.

Antioch lies on an extensive low hill, set in the midst of the plain four kilometres south-east of the confluence of the Dondalassu with the Maeander. The site is something of a geological island set in a sea of alluvial fields. The hill does offer some defensive advantages, but it should really be classed as an open site. Antioch is far from being a natural place of refuge.[263]

In antiquity, according to Strabo, the city was of moderate size but prosperous due to its fertile territory which was famous for figs. Antioch also benefited from the nearby bridge across the Maeander which carried the main east-west road on to the right bank of the river and thence on toward Tralles. At the beginning of the Byzantine period Antioch was a suffragan see of Caria, that is Stauropolis or Aphrodisias, and its bishops are duly attested at church councils.[264]

Otherwise there is no written evidence until the 12th century. Early in January 1147 the Second Crusade, led by Louis VII of France, crossed the river in the face of local opposition. The crusaders' opponents took refuge in Antioch, which Odo of Deuil, eye-witness and chronicler of these events, describes as a civitatula. Though small, Antioch was still capable of defying the crusading army. Louis had to recognize that the effort

265. ODO OF DEVIL 108-10.

266. NIKETAS CHONIATES 192.

267. AKROPOLITES 15-17.

required to seize the town would not be repaid in any booty gained.[265]

The bridge was evidently no longer standing at this date, but the episode does show that Antioch was still the usual crossing place, and hence that Odo's civitatula still occupied the ancient site. Had the site moved several kilometres away into the hills, it would hardly have figured in these events.

Little had changed by 1198 when the Selçuk sultan, Kaykhusraus I, mistook the sounds of a wedding feast for the signals of an army lying in wait, and withdrew from the in fact totally unprepared town. This story, recorded by Niketas Choniates, need not be taken literally, but it does confirm Odo's impression of a small fortified town, rather than a mere fort.[266]

A few years later in 1211, George Akropolites could refer to Antioch as "the chief place of the territory of the Maeander." In that year Kaykhusraus made a further attempt to seize what was evidently an important strategic strongpoint. Antioch managed to hold out until the relieving army appeared, commanded by the Emperor himself. What followed was a decisive Byzantine victory. The Selçuk sultan was killed and his army routed.[267]

After that there is no further mention of Antioch until western travellers appeared in the 18th century. According to

268. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 68-9.

the earliest account, given by Pococke, in 1740 the site was long deserted, but even then it had not entirely lost its strategic significance. In 1739 the forces of the rebel, Soley Bey, were finally defeated at the Antioch crossing.[268]

The actual remains at Antioch are of remarkable interest but have never been properly studied. There is no published plan nor adequate description. What follows is no more than an introductory sketch to illustrate the main features.

Fig. III. Antioch on the Maeander: General Area Plan.

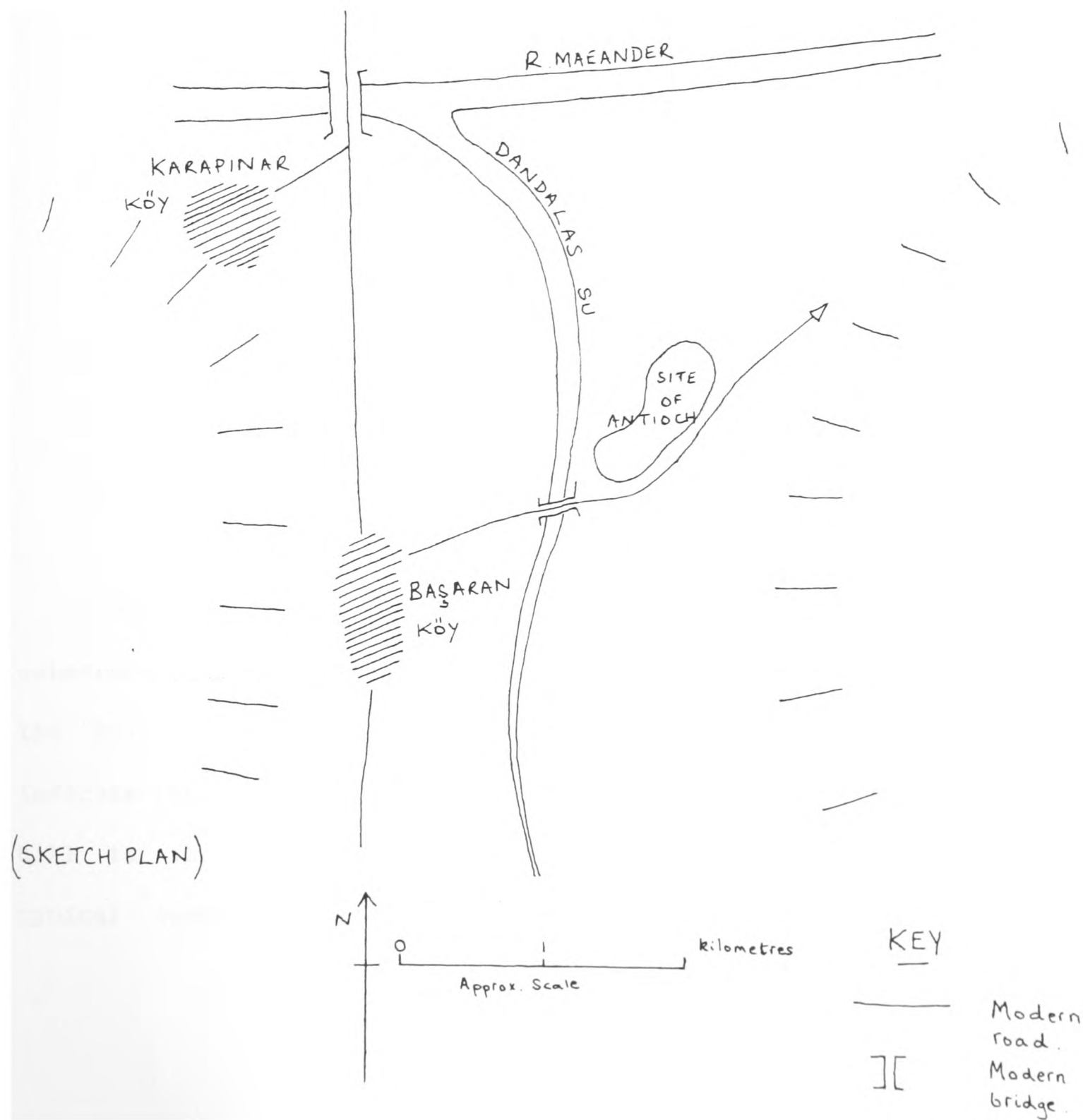
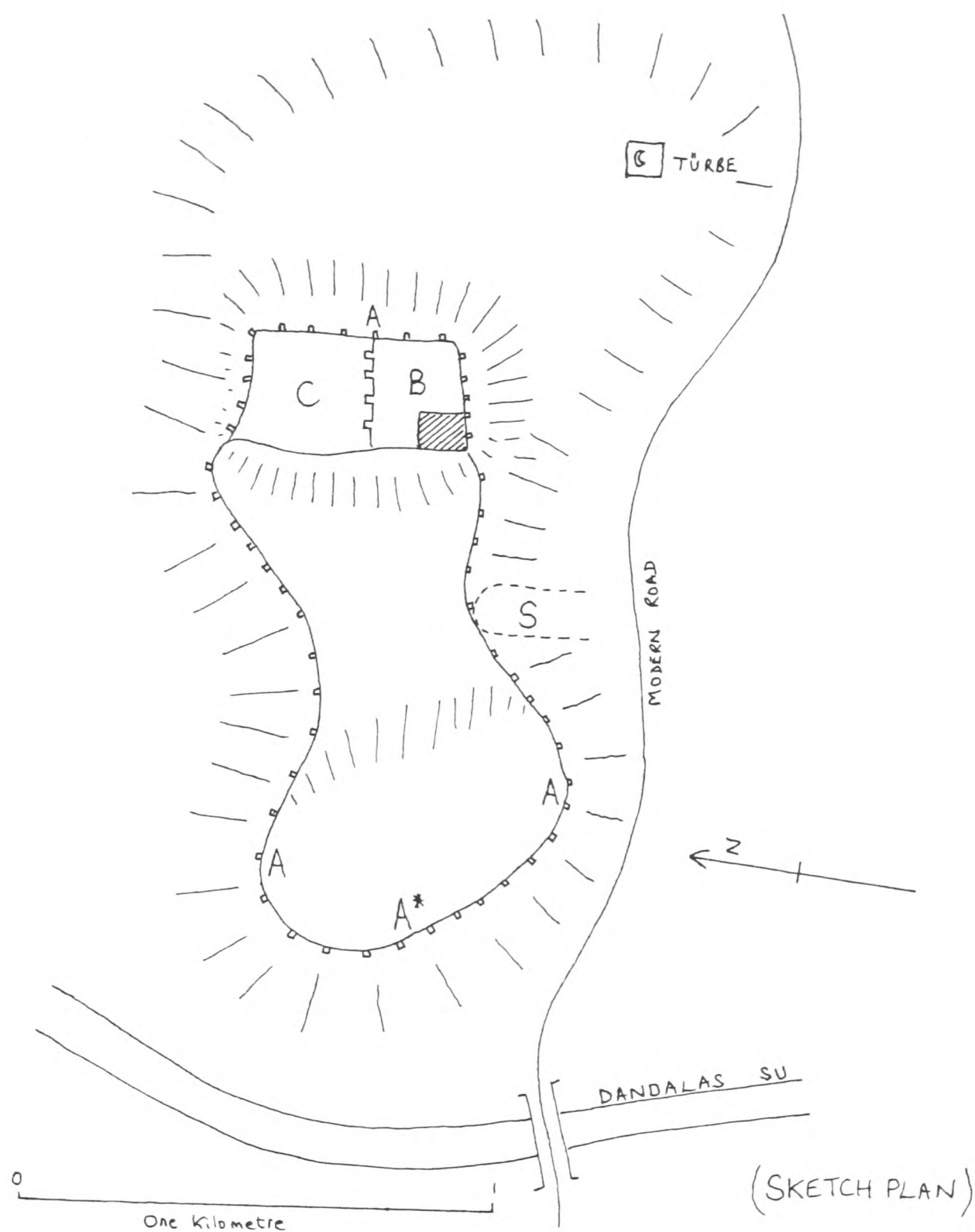


Fig. IV. Antioch on the Maeander: Site Plan.



The scatter of pottery and the various visible substructures show that the greater part of Roman Antioch lay on the hill top. A gentle indentation on the south side (S) may indicate the site of a stadium. Isolated on a lower part of the hill to the south-east is the small Hafza Hatun Türbesi, a typical domed, mortared fieldstone structure which includes two

269. See supra ns. 29-31.

fragments of decorative spolia. One appears to be Roman, possibly 4th century, the other may be from a 5th/6th century church.

Otherwise the main features of the site are the fortifications. The entire hill top, thus including what was the greater part of the Roman site, is enclosed by a powerful circuit wall with numerous towers and a proteichisma. It is best preserved at the south-western end, marked A* on the plan, where two towers are standing. The line of the wall and the proteichisma is however easily discernable throughout.

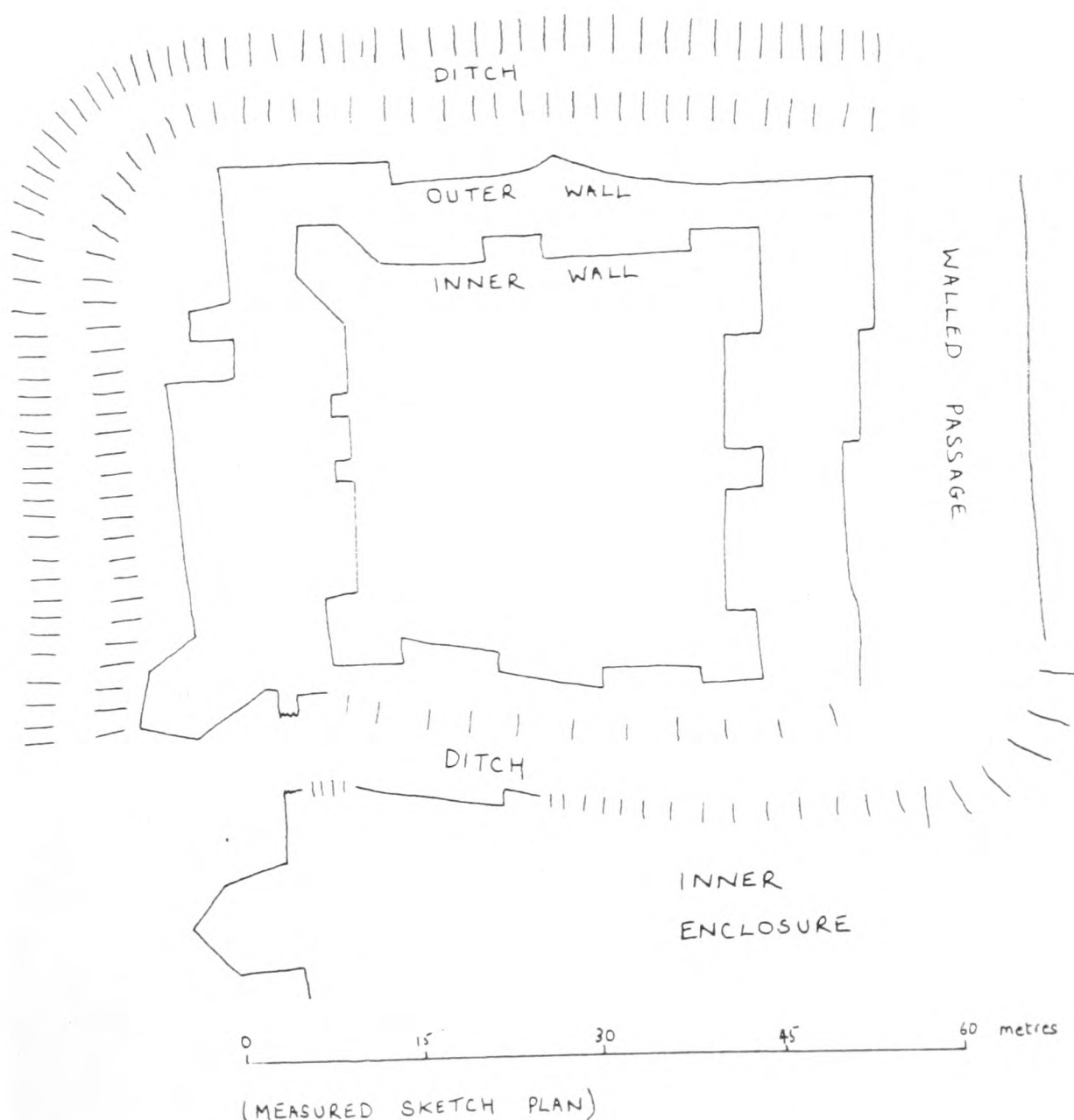
As was noted above, in the discussion of Philadelphia, such a proteichisma is a very rare feature in the city defences of western Asia Minor. One was added to the defences of Nicaea in Bithynia in the 13th century, and another may have been built at Philadelphia itself. Unfortunately the latter is no longer visible and it is not known whether it was a 13th century addition or part of the original defences.[269] I could not be absolutely certain, but at Antioch the proteichisma does seem to be an integral feature of the same date as the main wall.

Unlike Philadelphia, what should perhaps be called the acropolis fortifications at the north-eastern end of the site are visible and in part comparatively well preserved. They consist of two enclosures, marked B and C on the plan above. The smaller south-eastern enclosure (B) is the inner enclosure, defended on

the north-west by a towered wall and ditch. Its ground level lies some 4 metres higher than the larger outer enclosure.

In the south-western corner of the inner enclosure is a small castle, marked D on the plan. This is the best preserved structure on the site. It is small, only about 60 metres square, and heavily fortified, with double walls, towers and a complicated entrance system.

Fig. V: Antioch on the Maeander: the Castle.



The dating of these fortifications presents problems which

270. A. PHILIPPSON 'Reisen und Forschungen' CLXXX (1914) 94.

I do not pretend to have solved. More than 70 years ago, Philipppson, who has given the only published account of the site, described the circuit wall as late Roman.[270] Its construction of spolia blocks over a mortared rubble core would be consistent with such a date, as would the fact that it includes almost the entire Roman city. There is no sign of an earlier line of fortifications.

The enclosure walls on the north-east side are the continuation of the circuit wall, although it may be significant that the proteichisma is more visible here than elsewhere. The construction is mainly mortared fieldstone and very little spolia can be seen in comparison to the more southerly stretches. Of the inner walls, dividing the enclosures from the rest of the site, not enough is visible above ground to enable a judgement to be made on their construction.

The castle is constructed of mortared fieldstone with a small amount of brick and stone spolia. The latter appears principally in the angles and lower courses of towers, and as lintels. The towers, all square or prow shaped, are solid. They were built round an internal wooden scaffolding whose beam holes survive. The fieldstone has been carefully laid in quite neat courses and in some sections thin bricks were inserted into the interstices.

Neither the type of construction nor the plan contribute

271. See C. FOSS, 'The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks' Greek Orthodox Theological Review XXVII (1982) 145-201; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 9-12, 111-16; see supra
272. See C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 299-304, 306-9, 316-20.
273. A larger settlement than merely the castle is also indicated by Antioch's promotion in the mid-13th century to the rank of a metropolitan see: Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 15, nrs. 120, 189; Not. 17, nr. 111; Not. 18, nr. 111; Not. 19, nr. 120. The date of this promotion is uncertain, but the earliest reference is in 1250: Notitiae Episcopatum 164; V. LAURENT, 'Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié a Stroumnitsa' EO XXXIII (1934) 25; it has been claimed that a metropolitan of Antioch on the Maeander is attested by a second Synodal decision of 10 July 1250, but this seems to be a mistaken: J. LEUNCLAVIUS, JGR 240; G. A. RHALLER, M. POTLES V, 116; MANSI XXII, 1141; a further copy of this decision, MS Baroccianus 142 fol. 265 v., unfortunately omits the prologue with the list of metropolitans present; c.f. Notitiae Episcopatum 164. At least this promotion show that there was an episcopal church at Antioch which cannot have been inside the cramped walls of the castle. An undated 'Byzantine' font has also been found near the site with an inscription mentioning the bishop of Antioch, Anatolian Studies XXXIII (1983) 234.

much toward dating the castle. It certainly is not Turkish: the coursed mortared fieldstone, brick and spolia, and the solid square towers recall other Byzantine castles and contrast with the known examples of Turkish work,[271] but there is no very exact Byzantine parallel. It does not, as might have been expected, show any resemblance to the major Lascarid fortifications at Tripolis, Tabala, Magnesia or other sites.[272] The building style of the Lascarid period is sufficiently distinctive to exclude the Antioch castle. It follows as an obvious interpretation that Odo's civitatula and the scene of Niketas Choniates' wedding feast story was the castle plus the two enclosures. The castle alone would have been too small to have contained a settlement.[273] This would also explain the better preservation of the proteichisma along this north-eastern edge.

How much earlier than the 13th century was the castle built remains an open question. It could conceivably have been an early Byzantine fortification built to guard the strategic Antioch crossing, but since it is the best preserved part of the site and shows no signs of a repair phase this has to be unlikely. However supposing that the castle was added in the early 12th century what is still remarkable is that with so few additions Antioch was capable of defying the Crusaders and later two attempts by Kayhhusraw's Turks. Clearly its late Roman defences, and in particular perhaps its proteichisma, had made Antioch an exceptionally strong site.

274. R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 283; R.
POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 68.

275. R. MARCHESE, op.cit. 270.

If it was a sufficiently strong site to attract settlement in the 12th and 13th century, despite the lack of any marked natural advantages, then it would appear to be unlikely that it was abandoned in the early Byzantine period. Further study is needed of this important site, and ideally that should include the excavation of a trench through the north-eastern enclosure walls. However in the meantime it is still tempting to draw parallels with the history of Philadelphia. Both cities lay on important route junctions, both had strong late Roman walls, both were important in the 12th and 13th century. It would appear likely that Antioch no less than Philadelphia had a history of continuous settlement through the Byzantine period.

Harpasa also lies on the south side of the Maeander, 16 kilometres west of Antioch and due south of modern Nazilli. It lies on the eastern side of the valley of the Ak çay close to its confluence with the main river. Roman Harpasa, which seems to have been a small city, was an open site on fertile soil about 100 metres above the alluvial plain of the Maeander. Very few visible remains survive of the Roman period, but above and to the east of Harpasa has a large steep acropolis hill rising to a further 300 metres above the lower town.[274]

On the acropolis there are the substantial remains of unmortared cut ashlar walls, which probably date to about the 4th century B.C.,[275] the outline of a Roman theatre and a circuit

of walls dated by their typical late Byzantine construction of mortared fieldstone and brick to the 12th or 13th century. The lower town of Harpasa could well have been deserted between the 7th and 11th century. There is as yet no evidence on which to base a conclusion. Later Byzantine Harpasa was certainly on the hill. It is a fine defensive position and the area within the circuit is quite large enough for a small town. A scatter of green glazed pottery indicates the presence of a sizeable settlement. However the walls are sufficiently well preserved to show that there was no building phase between the 4th century B.C. and the 12th or 13th century. Evidently if Harpasa survived the early Byzantine period it was not by taking refuge on the acropolis.

If the open sites of Magnesia, Mastaura, Tripolis and Aphrodisias survived then it would be most curious if those ancient sites which combined the security of late Roman walls with natural defences had been abandoned. The main such sites in the middle Maeander area are Tralles and Nysa, and Alabanda and Alinda in the Çine Çay and the plain of Karpuzlu, part of the Maeander drainage basin in northern Caria. None of these sites has been properly studied but there is some evidence of continuity.

Ancient Tralles is built on the terrace which rises to about 200 metres above the north side of the Maeander valley. Priene lies on what is effectively the same terrace further to

276. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 33-44.
277. ibid. 43; J. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through part of Europe I, 132, 136.
278. R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 248, 260, 306, 318; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 177-9; T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks 255; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 54-5; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches 63; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure III, 28-9; O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, op.cit. 42-4.

the west. The site consists of a plateau separated from the rest of the terrace by deep ravines cut by streams running off mount Messogis. The plateau rises to a small peak in the north-east corner and there is a more gentle approach from the west, but in general this is a fine defensive position with excellent views over the Maeander plain.[276]

The modern town of Aydin occupies the slopes of the plateau and spreads into the plain below. The ancient site is now mostly occupied by a Turkish army base although in the past the town did spread on to the plateau and palace of the Karaosmanoğlu derebeys apparently occupied the south-east corner.[277]

In both the Roman and the modern periods Tralles/Aydin has been the most important administrative and commercial centre of the Maeander valley. The site lies at one of the focuses of the regional route system where the best east-west route from the central plateau to the Aegean meets the easiest land route via the Çine Çay into Caria. Up until the building of the railway and post-war road network it was also linked to Tire and Smyrna more directly than at present via a route over mount Messogis. Tralles also lies in a very fertile agricultural territory famous since antiquity for figs and vines.[278]

There is little evidence for Tralles in the Byzantine period before the last quarter of the 12th century. The see appears in the Notitia and successive incumbents attended the

279. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 186-9, nrs. 266-9.
280. LAZAROS 585; c.f. H. AHRWEILER, 'La Region de Smyrne' 31 n. 11.
281. NIKETAS CHONIATES 192.
282. PACHYMERES II, 468-74; for the date see A. FAILLER, 'La Restauration et la chute définitive de Tralles au 13e siècle' REB XLII (1984) 249-63; for its subsequent fate in the 14th century see P. LEMERLE, L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur la "Geste d'Umur Pacha" Paris (1957) 37.

various councils. There are four seals of 11th century bishops[279] and one bishop of Tralles is known to have been oikonomos of the province of Ephesos shortly before 1054. Contrary to what has been suggested this is no evidence that the bishop lived in Ephesos or that his see had been abandoned. Indeed there is no reason to think that the opposite was not the case.[280] However it is not until 1176 that Tralles is attested as an important fortress.[281] The next reference to the town is in 12 . At some period over the intervening hundred years, but probably in the 1260s or 70s, Tralles had been abandoned. In 1280 Andronikos II Palaiologos restored the city and imported a population, intended to make Tralles the bulwark of Byzantine resistance to the Turks. In the event, apparently because of the failure to provide a secure water supply, the city fell to the Turks in 1283 or 1284, but nonetheless the re-occupation is an important indication that the Byzantines were aware of the site's military advantages.[282]

The presence of the army base on the plateau has effectively prevented any archaeological work. The only surviving fragment of wall appears to be late Byzantine but such a prosperous city must have been walled in the late Roman period. If other small sites in open positions continued to be occupied it is unlikely that Tralles would have been abandoned.

Some caution has to be observed at this point. If the city had been abandoned the population would presumably have taken

285. JOHN OF EPHESES 229-32.

286. ibid. 232-3.

valleys below." Moreover, by John's own account, the monastery of Derira was "on a strong site upon a lofty mountain in the centre of the new churches", was a substantial building: "he built very strongly, and of great extent, from ample funds supplied him by the Emperor Justinian, who also bore the expence of the other monasteries and churches".[285] In fact it was such an excellent site that the orthodox bishop of Tralles coveted it as a summer residence.[286]

John of Ephesos' account could be taken as evidence that the Messogis range was capable of supporting a large population and also could provide excellent defensive sites to protect them from the Arabs. Indeed if the bishop of Tralles was prepared to move into a hill-top monastery to avoid the summer heat his 7th century successors would probably have done the same to escape the Arabs. More important still, none of these monasteries and churches have been discovered. If John of Ephesos' account is taken seriously then a large population and several major buildings have vanished into the hills, and on these grounds it could be reasonably objected that if all these substantial sites cannot be found then the absence of any early Byzantine refuge site in these hills ceases to be of any significance.

The problem exists because like so much of the region the Messogis range has not been surveyed for its ancient sites. Even so there are reasons which make it necessary to reject John's account.

287. ibid. 230-31.

289. STRABO XIV, i, 44-5; c.f. F. R. TROMBLEY, 'Paganism in the Greek world at the end of Antiquity: the case of rural Anatolia and Greece, Harvard Theological Review LXXVIII (1985) 329-32.

In the first place his description of the pagan organization based on the temple at Derira is fantastic. According to John, "Fifteen hundred temples situated in the neighbouring provinces were subject to its authority, and every year at a vast assembly held there, the regulations were fixed for the ensuing twelve-month, and the order of ministrations settled for the use of both priests and people".[287] High priests existed but their authority was not on this scale. Some Emperors such as Maximin Daia and above all Julian attempted to establish a pagan hierarchy but in general ancient cult sites were individual centres exercising an attraction only of fame and reputation. Their influence can perhaps best be compared to the informal authority of a successful holyman. John's description is simply the preconceptions of someone who saw all religion in terms of the organization of the Christian church.

In the 1st century A.D. Strabo knew of a number of cult sites in the Messogis and although these were mostly on the lower slopes this does give some support to John's claim to be converting a pagan population. However even in the Roman period the high mountains had been empty places and there is no doubt that any pagan population of this range in the 6th century would have been small. The claim to have converted thousands of pagans in the mountains behind Tralles must at the least be an exaggeration.[289]

The absence of any recorded remains is also suspicious.

290. See T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 61-72, 88-96, 190-228; T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene 487-8.
291. W. H. C. FREND, The Rise of the Monophysite Movement Cambridge (1972).

Twenty-five churches if small and in the plain could have vanished, but a major Imperial monastery must have left considerable remains. In the plain the search for building materials, the pressure on space in a village, and the silting and erosion caused by the rivers have led to the disappearance of hundreds of churches in the region, but mountains are peculiar for their ability to preserve. The ruined monasteries of Latros and Xerochoraphion are still there, abandoned by their monks but largely untouched by the few shepherds who populate the mountains.[290] An Imperial foundation on mount Messogis would not have vanished without trace. Indeed there is no reason why at the least it should not have survived through the Byzantine period. Yet even in the better documented 12th and 13th century there is no evidence that Messogis was ever a holy mountain.

In conclusion it seems quite possible to accept that John of Ephesos was sent by Justinian to convert pagans in these provinces and that the focus of his activity was the isolated hills behind Tralles which still contained a pagan community in the 6th century. Their paganism however would have been a factor of their small numbers and their isolation. John of Ephesos wrote the Ecclesiastical History in Constantinople in the increasingly anti-monophysite atmosphere of the 580s.[291] His work is a piece of monophysite propaganda written forty years after his mission to western Asia Minor. It would have been natural for John to have exaggerated his role and achievement in order to claim the conversion of pagans for the monophysite

292. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maeandrum passim; R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 223-33.
293. W. VON DIEST, op.cit. passim: K. KURUNIOTIS, 'Anaskafai en Nyse tē epi Maiandro' 1-88, 227-46.
294. W. VON DIEST, op.cit. 11, 51-2; K. KURUNIOTIS, op.cit. 19.

missionaries and to highlight the Emperor's personal contribution. On the contrary it would have been extremely surprising if John had not written with this in mind, but as a result the Ecclesiastical History cannot be taken as a reliable source for the settlement pattern of the Maeander valley.

To return to the city sites, that of Nysa lay in a similar position to Tralles further east on the terrace overlooking the Maeander. Slightly less important than Tralles it was nonetheless a wealthy city with all the advantages of a good defensive site and a fertile territory enjoyed by its neighbour to the west.[292]

The site is potentially of great archaeological importance since it has been abandoned from the later middle ages when the settlement moved to Sultan Hisar in the plain about 2 kilometres to the south east. However neither the German or Greek excavators, who worked at Nysa just before and after the First World War, had the expertise or the interest to reveal much of the period of Byzantine occupation.[293]

There are grounds on which to suggest a continuous history for Nysa throughout the early middle ages but they are too meagre to support any firm conclusion. The key piece of evidence is the walls. Nysa is surrounded by a circuit built of mortared fieldstone and spolia which can be dated by their size and construction to the late Roman period.[294] In the 13th century

295. PACHYMERES II, 468-74; Nysa fell just before Tralles, hence for the date see A. FAILLER, 'La Restauration et la chute définitive de Tralles' 255.
296. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maeandrum 23; see also C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 363-4.
297. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 94 et passim; two episcopal seals are known, one dating to the 9th, the other to the 11th century. However there is no means of deciding whether they belong to Asian Nysa or its namesake in the province of Cappadocian Caesarea. V. Laurent opts for the latter, but particularly in the case of the 11th century seal one might suspect that the bishop of Cappadocian Nysa might well have had the image of St. Gregory, his most famous forebear, on his seal: V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 174-5, nrs. 249-50.
298. Notitiae Episcopatum 134, 166, 170; Not. 12, nr. 145; Not. 15, nrs. 92 and 176.
299. E. KURTZ, 'Tri sinodalnykh gramoty' 103.
300. e.g. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 9, nrs. 11, 12, 26 and 37.
301. See supra 84f

Nysa was capable of withstanding a siege. If the Nysa which resisted the Turks in 1283[295] could be shown to be a town of any description, then it would follow that the walls must have been kept in repair, which would in turn presuppose a continuous history.

However, about 500 metres to the east lies a small castle, no larger than 100 metres square, which could well have been the extent of late 13th century Nysa.[296] Late Roman Nysa was still an active town and a bishopric.[297] It had a well built and not over large circuit of walls, so that one might expect it to survive, but unfortunately the only evidence that Nysa was more than a very small castle depends on the Notitiae Episcopatum.

These show that in the late 12th century Nysa was promoted first to the rank of an archbishopric and then to that of a metropolitan see.[298] Like Hypaipa in the Cayster valley these promotions were shortlived. By 1216 both Hypaipa and Nysa were again suffragans of Ephesos.[299] No doubt much of the explanation for the several promotions of Isaac II's reign lies in high ecclesiastical politics, but these were not fictitious sees nor were they simply picked out as the senior suffragans. Hypaipa was the senior suffragan of Ephesos, but Nysa and Pyrgion both appear rather low in the list.[300] In the case of Hypaipa we have seen that there is evidence to suggest a town and an episcopal church;[301] the same is likely to have been the case at Nysa. If so then the 13th century site must have lain behind

302. R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 91, 176-81, 261:
STRABO XIV, xxvi, 1; XIV, ii, 17; G. E. BEAN, Turkey
beyond the Maeander 152-68.
303. STRABO XIV, xxvi, 1; see R. MARCHESE, op.cit. 261.

the ancient walls rather than being confined to the castle. One would not pretend this is a strong case, but the survival of Nysa through the early Byzantine period is a possibility and the site needs re-examining with this in mind.

The two other city sites in this part of the Maeander region in good defensive positions are Alabanda and Alinda in northern Caria. Neither were very important in the Roman period although Alabanda seems to have been the wealthier city with a larger territory. Alinda actually shows little evidence of any major building projects in the Roman period. Indeed part of the present interest of the site is its preservation of Hellenistic structures unreplaced by any extensive Roman building phase. Nonetheless they both occupy useful defensive positions close to good agricultural land, and in the case of Alinda, a site set in a small plain secluded from the main routes. Both would appear to have been well placed as settlements during the Byzantine period.[302]

At Alabanda there is some evidence for continuity. The city lies on the western side of the fertile plain of the Çine Çay, opposite the modern town of Çine. The Roman city covered a large area, extending into the plain, but the heart of Alabanda, the walled area of the Hellenistic city, was the two hills at the southern edge of the site, compared in antiquity to two panniers borne by an ass.[303] It appears that Roman Alabanda had expanded from this defensive core and Byzantine Alabanda

304. EDHEM BEY, 'Fouilles d'Alabanda en Carie Rapport sommaire sur la premiere campagne' Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (1905) 446, 450, 455, 458 and pl. 2; IDEM, 'Fouilles d'Alabanda en Carie. Rapport sommaire sur la seconde Campagne (1904)' ibid. (1906) 408, 409-10, 420-21 and fig. 12.

contracted back to it.

The site was rather casually excavated at the turn of the century and the subsequent report tends to refer to numerous late Roman buildings as Byzantine but nonetheless it is clear that occupation continued through the early Byzantine period. The very fine cut ashlar Hellenistic walls show evidence of frequent late repair including a section on the west side where extensive use was made of spolia, and that on the top of the east hill where there are considerable remains of poorly built mortared fieldstone structures. On the west hill is a medieval Turkish türbe containing some middle Byzantine carved spolia. The carving is not distinguished and the builders of the turbe clearly saw it as of no particular interest. Given the masses of other spolia available on the site these fragments would not have been brought from elsewhere and must be the remains of a middle Byzantine building at Alabanda. On the east side of the city a three aisled basilica has also been recorded. It is late Roman and built mostly of spolia, as is a adjacent baptistery which is on the site of an ancient temple. Among the associated sculptural fragments there a number of fragments of a carved lintel decorated with a geometrical pattern characteristic of 10th and 11th century works.[304]

Alinda is on a similar hill top site which expanded into the plain during the Roman period. One would have expected it to have contracted back to the hill in the Byzantine period but

305. J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I, Paris (1983) 1-17; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 161-8; R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 91, 179-81; V. SCHULTZE, Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften II: Kleinasien Gutersloh (1922) 168.
306. See P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Mentesche 165-6.

there is no evidence there at all of a Byzantine settlement. The impressive Hellenistic ruins of city walls and other public buildings, despite being untouched by any archaeologist show no signs of any later occupation. Although Alinda is known to have been occupied in the late Roman period there is very little evidence. The only late Roman building to have been seen was a church built of neat ashlar blocks. Without a proper survey one cannot be certain that Alinda was abandoned, but it does appear that if the city survived it was not on the well defended hill but in the new Roman area of expansion in the plain.[305]

The picture for this part of the Maeander region is not clear, but the evidence is against a major shift in population to the hills and other such secure sites. In the valley of the Çine Çay there is only one important site first occupied in the middle ages. This is the isolated hill top overlooking the river crossing at Eski Çine. The cliffs and the large extent of level ground on the top of the hill make this an excellent defensive site with ample space for the local population to take refuge with the flocks and draught animals. Yet the site does not seem to have been occupied until the Turks turned it into a major fortress in the 14th century.

The only Byzantine evidence on the site is several sculptural fragments found in the walls of the late 14th century mosque and the village houses. Their style is middle Byzantine but they could be as late as the 12th or 13th century.[306]

However there is no structure associated with these fragments. Unlike Alabanda, there is nothing to suggest that a 14th century builder would have had any ancient spolia at Eski Çine. Apart from fieldstone, all building materials would have had to have been brought from elsewhere and the nearest heap of convenient cut ashlar would have been at Alabanda. These fragments are therefore almost certainly not evidence of Byzantine occupation at Eski Çine but instead further confirmation of continuity at Alabanda.

All the other remains at Eski Çine are Turkish. The mosque and the modern village lie at the foot of the hill. Above, dominating the site, is a large and impressive fortress constructed of mortared fieldstone with brick fragments. The shape and arrangement of the towers and the general plan of the fortress is similar to that of the Peçin kale. The comparison is strengthened by the building technique. That of the Eski Çine fortress being essentially the same as the type II work at the Peçin kale which has been dated to the early 14th century. The Eski Çine fortress was clearly built in a single phase and there is no evidence of earlier work. Even the bridge over the Çine Çay, which is connected to the castle summit by a covered walk, appears to be of the same date as the castle with major Ottoman repairs. Since in addition to the visible evidence on site, Eski Çine is known from documentary sources to have been one of the principal centres of the Menteşe Emirate, the fortress can be dated with confidence to the 14th century and regarded as a

307. ibid. 51-2, 74-5, 165-6; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 65-6: his account will sound familiar to anyone who has travelled in rural Turkey in search of ancient remains: "I lodged here in the coffee-house; and when the people knew my business, they informed me of the antiquities of the place, and half the village accompanied me up the hill, laughing and jesting with much good humour; and afterwards many of them came and sat with me in the coffee-house." Pococke visited Eski Çine on 22 February 1740.
308. J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon 17-23, 50-57.
309. ibid. 53-5, 69, 71, 79, 83; figs. 45, 52-3, 71-5; MM IV, 290, 294; EP II, 177 nr. 67; PAUL OF LATROS 123; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 386-7, nr. 524.
310. For the absence of Byzantine remains at potential refuge sites see J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon 271-7; A. WESTHOLM, The Architecture of the Hieron, Labraunda I/2, 13-19; for a general view of the isolation of this area of northern Caria see S. HORNBLOWER, Mausulos 5-11.

wholly Turkish site.[307]

Any population leaving the plain would have taken refuge in the north Carian hills. These are not a particularly attractive area for settlement but they do support a small population today and they contained a few minor cities in the Roman period.[308] One of these, Amyzon, lying 10 kilometres to the north of Alinda, has been partially excavated by L. Robert. This revealed a small early Byzantine circuit wall which fits with several references to the city and its bishop in various *Latros* documents from the 10th to the 13th century to prove continuity on the ancient city site.[309] However this is again not evidence for a move to the hills. The continuity of Amyzon is only well attested because of its proximity to a monastery some of whose documentation has survived, and its isolation which preserved its early Byzantine wall. Amyzon itself was a minor Roman city which had declined to become in relative terms an equally minor Byzantine town. Only a survey can provide the detailed evidence, but on the work done so far, it seems that the majority of sites in these hills are Hellenistic and earlier. This was probably the period in which the Carian hills were most densely populated and there is nothing to suggest that the Byzantine period saw a return to these conditions.[310]

To the east of Tripolis the Maeander river turns north east to describe a great arc through the hill country which separates the lower Maeander valley from the upper plain of the Baklan

311. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 1-7 and map.

312. See supra

ovası. The main route onto the central plateau does not follow the river through these hills but instead turns south-east along the broad valley of the Lykos. This gradually rises at its eastern end and the road again turns east, past the Acı Tüz Gölü and on to Apamea, modern Dinar, where it meets the Maeander again at its sources.[311]

The Lykos valley is one of the key strategic zones of Asia Minor. Besides being on the most important west-east route on to the central plateau, the valley is the most easterly extension of the Mediterranean coastlands. With fertile soil and a good water supply, the milder near mediterranean climate gave the Lykos at all periods a crucial role in the region's pastoral, nomadic and agricultural economy. Moreover this is the centre of a network of routes stretching not only east and west but south into Caria and Lycia, south-east via Pisidia to the Pamphylian coast, north-east via the Baklan and Banaz ovası to Afyon, Amorion and Kütahya, and north-west, past Tripolis to Philadelphia and the Hermos valley.[312]

The history of the valley's cities since pre-Hellenistic times reflects the area's strategic role. Any successful city in the Lykos valley was almost bound to become a major administrative, military and commercial centre, while a cult site here would become a centre of pilgrimage. The only limiting factor, as W. M. Ramsay observed, is that historically the Lykos has only been able to support two major cities, one primarily a

313. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 38, 84, 209.

314. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 195-6.

315. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 400, 422.

cult site, the other a secular settlement. An early example is how with the foundation of Laodicea by the Seleucid Antiochos II, the previous chief city of the valley, Colossai, went into a gradual but steady decline.[313]

The same strategic considerations gave the Lykos valley considerable importance in the Byzantine period. This is best documented for the 12th century when it became the hub of the Byzantine defensive network against the Turks, but it must still have been an important area under the different strategic conditions of the earlier warfare against the Arabs. Indeed one of the Lykos cities may have been the capital of the Thrakesioi. The valley lies at the eastern limits of the theme and as C. Foss has pointed out, in purely military terms when fighting the Arabs, the theme capital would be much better placed here than at Ephesos, far from the enemy on the west coast. Ephesos has been generally accepted as the capital of the Thrakesioi but in fact there is no proof and the possibility of a capital in the Lykos valley deserves to be kept in mind.[314]

In comparison to the rest of the Maeander region the Lykos valley is well reported during the Byzantine period. In particular there are a number of references to the valley in the 12th century, when it was not only of great strategic importance but also of special interest to the major Byzantine historian of the period, Niketas Choniates, who had been born there at Chonai.[315] However even

316. W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 82-8.
317. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 208-16; T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks 249; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 78.

these sources, including Niketas Choniates, provide only fragmentary and unclear evidence for the history of the Lykos cities. This material has generally been interpreted to show the cities as examples of Byzantine abandonment of ancient sites in the 7th century, but in fact, as elsewhere in the region, a reassessment can change the picture.

Continuity here would be particularly significant because the Lykos cities lay on an exposed invasion route; if they survived then the probability is increased of a more general continuity throughout the region.

The best known example of a city in this area which moved site during the early Byzantine period is Colossai, known in the middle ages as Chonai. The modern town, which continues to bear the name in the form of Honaz, lies 5 kilometres to the south of Colossai at the foot of the Honaz dağ. On one of the foothills above Honaz stands a medieval fortress. The castle hill provides an extraordinary view over the Lykos valley and is surrounded by cliffs forming such effective natural defences that the site was still of military importance in the 18th century.[317]

From Niketas Choniates' account it is clear that by the second half of the 12th century Chonai had moved to the castle hill and the site of modern Honaz, but it has been argued, and generally accepted, that the move had taken place several

318. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 208-16.
319. MANSI XI, 1001; XII, 998, 1106; XIII, 393; XVI, 194; XVII-XVIII, 373.
320. MICHAEL GLYKAS 377.
321. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 3, nr. 143; Not. 7, nr. 85; Not. 8, nrs. 58 and 99; Not. 9, nr. 560; Not. 10, nr. 674; Not. 11, nrs. 55 and 119; Not. 12, nr. 53; Not. 13, nr. 747.
322. See LAZAROS 511.
323. Colossions II, 18.
324. 'Narratio de miraculo a Michaelae archangelo Chonis atrato' ed. M. Bonnet, AB VIII (1889) 289-307.

centuries earlier in the face of the Arabs.[318] The only evidence for an early date is the changing titulature of the signatories for the see at the Byzantine church councils. In 692 the bishop signed as of Colossai; in 787 his successor signed as bishop of Colossai hētoi Chonai; and in 869 the signature is simply that of the bishop of Chonai alone.[319] From that date the see was only known as Chonai and the name Colossai was forgotten to such an extent that it was possible to imagine that the recipients of St. Paul's epistle were Rhodians, so called from the famous Colossus.[320]

However, as with the notitia,[321] the conciliar lists alone do not prove even the existence of the see and there are other possible explanations of the change of name. In the 11th century by far the most famous and important thing at Chonai was the church and shrine of St. Michael, which was a centre for pilgrimage from all over Asia Minor.[322] The cult of the archangel seems to have been very strong in Phrygia since the earliest christian period,[323] but the medieval fame of the church was traditionally held to have resulted from a miracle by which St. Michael saved his shrine from a flood engineered by hostile pagans. The latter had dammed two rivers for ten days intending to pollute and sweep away the archangel's holy spring, but just as the waters were released and poured down upon his shrine St. Michael split the earth and caused the waters to be funnelled safely into the ground.[324]

325. ibid. 285-8, 300-7; BHG nr.
326. G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 222-3; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 214-16; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 510.
327. ATTALEIATES 140-41.
328. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 400, 422; R. JANIN, La Géographie Ecclesiastique 354-8; see also PROCOPIUS, De Aedificiis I, iv, 27; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. ed. A. Vogt I, 93-7.
329. 'Menologium Basil II' PG CXVII, 34.

A detailed account of the miracle is provided by a 9th or 10th century source. It has no historical value for the origins of the cult site, but it must accurately reflect the association between the shrine and certain physical features of the Lykos valley.[325]

The scene of the miracle was clearly imagined to be the small gorge, just over 3 kilometres long, down which the river flows. The site of Colossai is to the south of the river. Close by, to the north, on the other side of the river, on the site of the ancient necropolis, there are visible (or were at the end of the last century) the remains of a large church which since it fits the indications in the sources is almost certainly that of St. Michael.[326] According to Michael Attaleiates' account of its sack in 1070, the pilgrimage church was in just such a position close to the gorge,[327] while the description given in the 12th century by Niketas Choniates is of "an enormous church great and celebrated edifice surpassing in beauty and magnitude the shrine of the good martyr Mokios in Constantinople".[328]

The pilgrimage church was thus a considerable distance from modern Honaz, being instead part of the site of the ancient city. The Byzantines derived the name Chonai from Chōnē, a funnel, and associated it with the miracle of St. Michael and the gorge.[329] Whether or not the derivation is actually correct, Chonai must originally have been a settlement close to the gorge. If Chonai had been from the first on the peak 5 kilometres away at modern

330. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178.

Honaz then the association between the place name, the miracle and the gorge would hardly have developed. The details are obscure, but clearly early medieval Chonai is not an example of a move to a more secure site and in fact is essentially a continuation of Colossai on something very close to the ancient site.

This can be confirmed if one reconsiders the written sources. Before 1189 there is no evidence that the pilgrimage church and the town of Chonai were on different sites. Niketas Choniates reports that in the summer of 1176, the Emperor Manuel Comnenos marching east on the disastrous Myriokephalon campaign, came to Chonai - "a prosperous and great city, this author's homeland" - where he entered the church of the archangel.[330] Niketas is quite clear that the church of St. Michael was at Chonai, not several kilometres away in the plain. If Chonai had been at Honaz in 1176 it would not have been on the Emperor's route and he would only have visited the church without any mention of the town.

Michael Attaliates' account of the sack of Chonai in 1070 is even clearer. It describes the Turks taking both the church of St. Michael and the city of Chonai. The description focuses on the church because it was this sacrilege which shocked contemporaries, but the fleeing population is evidently the citizens of Chonai, and these have no refuge save the gorge where they trusted St. Michael would save them. In the event,

331. ATTALEIATES 140-41.

332. NIKETAS CHONIATES 196.

333. ibid. 400.

according to Attaleiates the gorge was flooded and those who were not slaughtered were drowned. Their sinfulness, he explained, had brought upon them not only the assault of their enemies but the hostility of the natural elements. A more secular explanation would be that Chonai's site in the plain lacked effective defences. If Chonai in 1070 had already been on the hill to the south, the Turks would not have taken the town with such ease.[331]

Despite the insecurity no move seems to have been made for over another hundred years. In 1177, Andronikos Angelos, fleeing from a defeat by the Turks near the Acı Tüz Gölü to the east of the Lykos, came first to Chonai, but discovering that his horse was not yet exhausted, he carried on to Laodicea. Niketas Choniates is not explicit but the episode does imply that Chonai had not yet moved. Had the town already been on the hill at Honaz it would not have been on his route, and had it been a secure fortress there would have been no need to press on.[332]

The first indication that Chonai had moved to a more secure position does not come until 1189 when Niketas Choniates' account of the rebellion of Theodore Mangaphas implies that only those farming in the plain were lost when the Turks again sacked the church.[333]

The medieval remains at Honaz are very fragmentary and ill recorded, but they do not support Ramsay's view that this was the site of an early Byzantine fortress. What survives of the circuit wall on the hill-top is built of a rather poor quality

334. See C. FOSS, Kütahya 25, 71-3, 84-5.

335. See supra 94, 124-5, and 156 .

mortared fieldstone. It contains no brick and in itself could be of almost any date but a small section survives on the north-western side where it is possible to see the remains of a wooden framework built into the wall as an initial support. This technique, with parallel horizontal beams set into the external face of the wall, is known as cribwork and seems to be a characteristic of Turkish building methods.[334] Since the whole wall and a single adjacent surviving cistern are very similar construction, this would appear to be all of a late date. Otherwise very little survives on the acropolis top, but there is no apparent evidence of an early Byzantine fortress.

If the early Byzantine period did not see a move to a more secure refuge from the ancient site in the plain, the change in name from Colossai to Chonai is perhaps still significant and may point to another development. Most of the other name changes in the Maeander region seem to involve the replacement of an overtly pagan name by one with natural or christian connotations. Thus Aphrodisias became Stauropolis, Dios Hieron became Pyrgion, and the most famous of the later oracles, Didyma, became the Byzantine bishopric of Hieron.[335] More applicable here may be the example of Ephesos, which was usually known throughout the medieval period as Theologos, after St. John the Theologian. As C. Foss has shown, the change in name occurred several centuries before the ancient site was abandoned in favour of the hill of St. John to the east. For much of the Byzantine period the settlement surrounding the church of St. John was no more than a

336. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 117, 121.
337. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 7, nr. 85.

suburb of the main town, but even so the shrine of St. John was by far the most famous thing about Byzantine Ephesos and the saint's cult could gradually supplant the ancient name in common usage.[336] The same could well have occurred at Colossai, but whereas at Ephesos the ancient name applied to one of the great cities of the Roman world and hence remained current at least in such semi-official contexts as the episcopal notitiae, Colossai was a very minor city in the late Roman period – so minor in fact that it could be forgotten that this was the city of St. Paul. Hence by the 9th century Colossai would be known even in the notitiae simply by reference to the shrine of St. Michael.[337]

The change in name in fact also reflects a small change in site. As noted above the church of St. Michael was probably on the ancient necropolis which was by definition outside the Roman city. If as seems likely the early and middle Byzantine town was centred on the pilgrimage church, it would appear that a move had taken place, not to the safety of the hills but instead down from even the small hill of the ancient city to the hallowed site in the plain.

The great cult centre of the Lykos in the Roman period was Hierapolis, which overlooks the valley from a high terrace to the north-east. The impressive Roman remains and the spectacular white mineral deposits of its hot springs have made Hierapolis one of the best known sites in western Turkey. An excavation still in progress by an Italian team has shown that the site was

338. P. VERZONE, 'L'urbanistica di Hierapolis de Frigia. Tracciato viario e monumenti rimessi alla luce dal 1957 al 1972', Atti del Congresso di storia dell'Architettura, Atene 29 Sept. - 5 Oct. 1969, Centro di studi per la storia dell'Architettura Rome (1977) 401-12; P. VERZONE, 'Le Campagne 1962 - 1964 a Hierapolis di Frigia, Annuario della Scuola Archeologica de Atene N.S. XXV-XXVI (1963-4) 371-89; D. DE BERNADI, 'L'architettura monumentale della Porta d'Onore e della Via Colonnata' ibid. 396-8; Anatolian Studies XXXIV (1984) 219.
339. ANSBERT 75; Historia Peregrinorum 154.
340. Revelations III, 17.
341. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 47-8, 127, 391, 564, 813; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 61.

continuously occupied up to the end of the 11th century.[338]

In view of the prosperity and fine defensive position of late Roman Hierapolis the evidence for continuity might have been expected. Apart from a number of large baths and churches, the city had also invested in a powerful circuit wall of the type familiar from Sardis, Philadelphia and Tripolis. Hierapolis was also well placed to carry on its sacred role in a Christian context since the Apostle Philip was buried there and a large church had been built over the tomb. In fact although Hierapolis did survive it was overtaken by Chonai, even though the later was on a more exposed site in the plain below. By 1190 the German crusaders would simply notice the "ruined city of Hierapolis".[339]

The relative decline of Hierapolis would fit with Ramsay's view that the Lykos valley could only support two cities; and if Chonai was one, Laodicea can be shown from the 12th century sources to have been the other.

Laodicea is the city of the Apocalypse which boasts, "I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing".[340] This was still true in the late Roman period. The city was an administrative and commercial centre, famous for its law courts, textiles and trade.[341] The site has only been very partially excavated, concentrating solely on the nymphaeum complex in the centre of the city. The excavation has confirmed the city's wealth, lasting through to the end of the 6th century, but it has

342. J. DES GAGNIERS, et al., Laodicée du Lykos.
343. See the discussion of this evidence, infra 446 f
344. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195-6; ODO OF DEUIL 112-4.
345. ANSBERT 75.
346. ANNA COMNENA III, 27.

provided no new material which might have contributed to any understanding of the subsequent history of the site. As with the Gymnasium at Sardis, the abandonment of an obsolete and derelict public building is no evidence for the fate of the rest of the city.[342]

Between the 7th and 11th century written sources only mention the city in connection with the metropolitan bishop and in circumstances which need not prove anything about Laodicea itself.[343] In the 12th century the valley's new strategic importance brought the city to the attention of contemporary historians and for this period there is a relatively large body of evidence. The number of references, most of them slightly obscure, has unfortunately tended to confuse the issue and it is important to concentrate on three essential points.

In the first place, 12th century Laodicea was on the ancient site in the middle of the valley. All the sources are clear that Laodicea was on the main road which ran close to the Lykos. Any traveller would pass through it and it did not require a detour into the hills.[344] Astert's reference in April 1190 to Laodicea as "in pede altissimi montis" should not be taken exactly and is no evidence that the city had moved site.[345]

Secondly, Laodicea on its ancient site was a fortified city both in 1098, when it surrendered to John Doukas,[346] and in

347. NIKETAS CHONIATES 12; KINNAMOS 5-6.

348. It is noteworthy that the site has been abandoned since the middle ages: T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks 251; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 263; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches 85.

1119 when it surrendered to John II.[347] On both occasions the Byzantines regarded the surrender as fortunate because the city would have been capable of resistance. Niketas Choniates' account credits John II with building a wall around Laodicea, but this does not prove that the city had previously lacked defences. If it had had no walls it would have been unnecessary in 1098 and 1119 to parley for its surrender. It is probable that the Emperor John did carry out a major refortification of Laodicea, but Niketas Choniates has been misled, possibly by an inscription, into believing that there had been no earlier walls.

Thirdly, if Laodicea was fortified in 1098 then the city must have been so for several centuries. No fortifications in this region have been attributed to the first period of Turkish rule between about 1080 and 1098. If it had not already been fortified the site does not have sufficient natural advantages to have attracted occupation.[348] The same applies to the immediately preceding period. The Turkish sack of Chonai in 1070 may well have caused the Imperial government and the local population to take defensive measures, but if Laodicea had not already been a fortified site, then any new defences would have been much more appropriate at Chonai itself rather than at a long abandoned Laodicea. Before 1070 the Lykos had been relatively secure for over two hundred years. Almost any earlier date for the fortifications would be possible, but in view of the fact that Laodicea was a major late Roman city and the chief administrative centre of the region, it almost certainly would

349. ODO OF DEUIL 114; ANSBERT 75; evacuation in the face of a serious attack, rather than a local raid, was clearly standard practice and the disaster at Laodicea which took place between these two successful evacuations shows what could happen if the populace were caught unawares. The accounts of the successful Turkish attack and sack of Laodicea however do present problems which have yet to be solved:

(i) The attack is described by Niketas Choniates and John Kinnamos. Since both accounts see it as a surprise which caught the inhabitants unprepared and led to large numbers killed or captured, they are almost certainly referring to the same event. The secondary literature is in disarray over the date. W. M. Ramsay, repeated by des Gagniers, gives 1158 and Planhol, for an unstated reason, gives 1156. Both these must be wrong. According to John Kinnamos the sack of Laodicea was part of the Turkish response to Manuel I's 1159-61 campaign and preceded Kiliç Arslan's visit to Constantinople in 1162. Thus Kinnamos' account implies a date probably in the spring or summer of 1161. Niketas Choniates on the other hand sees the attack in the context of deteriorating Byzantine - Turkish relations after the 1162 'summit'. F. Chalandon took the view that Kinnamos and Choniates were describing two different attacks, but this puts too much reliance on either author's grasp of events. Both Kinnamos and Choniates found considerable difficulty in marrying events in different parts of the Empire into a single chronologically coherent account. Which author, if either, is correct remains a problem to be solved; the attack, however, almost certainly took place in the 1160s or 70s rather than the 50s: KINNAMOS 198; NIKETAS CHONIATES 124; J. DES GAGNIERS et al. Laodicée du Lycos II, 406; F. CHALANDON, Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180), Paris (1912) 461, 499; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 18-19, 79.

(ii) Choniates' account reads as follows: 'Steílas dè kai phálaggas epiléktous tēn katà Phrygían ekportheí [i.e. Kiliç Arslan] Laodíkeian, oukéti oûsan synoikouménēn hōs nūn heōratai, oud'euerkési phrangnuménēn teichesi, katà dè kōmas ekkechumenēn, perī tās hypōreías tōn ekeise bounōn.' This requires some comment. It does not as has been suggested prove either that Laodicea was undefended at this period or that it had moved site. As at Kütahya, euerkesi ...teichesi, would refer to the improved defences put up later in the century. It does not show that there had been no walls before. Similarly the contrast between synoikoumenē and ekkechumenē simply means that not everyone lived inside the walls, rather than that they had changed site or ceased to look to the ancient city mound as the focus of the settlement: NIKETAS CHONIATES 124; C. FOSS, Kütahya 76-7; c.f. X. DE PLANHOL in J. DES GAGNIERS et al., Laodicée du Lycos 406-8. De Planhol's alternative site at Hisar Köy is simply ancient Attouda, which is itself another case of continuity. Attouda appears as a separate bishopric in the Notitiae and is surrounded by a late Roman/early

Byzantine wall. I visited the site in August 1986. See C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 503, n. 25; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 45⁴ et passim; MAMA VI (1939) xii-xiv, 24-32.

350. L. ROBERT, Hellenica IV, Paris (1948) 45-7; C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 181-2.

351. ibid. 195-6.

have had a circuit of pre-Byzantine walls. Twice in the 12th century Laodicea was temporarily evacuated on the approach of the Crusaders,[349] and this may reflect earlier practice in the face of major Arab armies, but in any case the survival of the walls in a defensible state up to 1119 shows that at least under normal circumstances the circuit was continuously occupied and maintained throughout the Byzantine period.

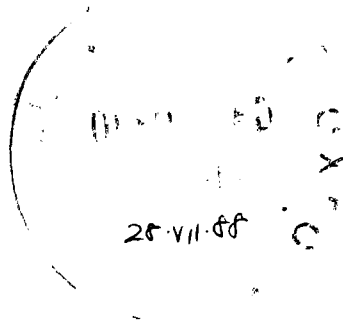
If this interpretation is correct, Laodicea would have been an important fortress standing at one of the key strategic route centres of western Asia Minor. Through the late Roman period Laodicea had probably been the capital of the diocese of Asia. In 536 the diocese had been suppressed and the office of vicar was combined with the governorship of Phrygia Pakatiana (western Phrygia). The new officer, who had the title of comes of Phrygia Pakatiana would have continued to have had his seat at Laodicea.[350] With this history Laodicea has to be considered as the most likely site for the capital of the theme of the Thrakesioi before the 12th century.[351]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE MAEANDER
REGION OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR ON THE EVE OF THE
TURKISH INVASION

by

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CHAPTER FIVE Continuity or Flight? III: The Upper Maeander.

So far this survey of the evidence has shown that many of the late Roman city sites in the lower Maeander region survived as relatively important settlements up to at least the 12th century. Before the Turkish invasions there is very little evidence, save in a small number of specific circumstances, to suggest either a general move away from the open plains to the security of the hills, or an abandonment of ancient open sites in favour of better defensive positions. Indeed the evidence for the survival of a city is as good if not better for settlements on open sites, such as Philadelphia, Mastaura or Laodicea, as it is for those which already occupied good defensive positions such as Tralles, Priene or Amyzon. This continuity in the plains is also an indication that settled agriculture remained the principal activity of Byzantine society and that there was no shift to a pastoral economy. In most cases adaptation to the very different conditions of the 7th to 11th century seems to have taken place within the existing late Roman settlement pattern and the survival or otherwise of a site appears to be linked above all to such specific factors as the status and prosperity of the site in the 6th century, the existence of a defensive circuit of walls and the availability of good agricultural land.

The evidence for the upper Maeander region is of a rather different nature and needs to be placed in the context of

Byzantine strategy against the Arabs before individual sites can be analyzed. Unlike the lower Maeander none of the major cities of the upper Maeander region has been excavated. With some exceptions, notably Apamea, the cities were less important here than further west, but in any case 19th and 20th century classical archaeologists have not been so attracted to these lesser Phrygian sites in comparison to the famous early Greek cities of the coast.

The geography of the upper Maeander has already been described in the outline of the Maeander region as a whole. The area consists of three plains, drained by the Maeander river system, which lie to the east of the central valleys and form an intermediate zone.

In the description in chapter one the emphasis was placed on those factors which made it possible to consider the Maeander region as a whole, but one cannot ignore the fact that geography and climate make the upper Maeander different from the rest of the region to the west.[1]

There are two main routes from the Aegean coast up to the central plateau and these mark the approximate northern and southern extent of the upper Maeander region. One goes from the Hermos valley via Uşak to Afyon Karahisar, the other goes from the Lykos via the Acı Tüz Gölü to reach the central plateau over the pass behind Dinar. Following either route the traveller is aware

2. See supra 6 10 .
3. See P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' Byzantion X (1935) 11]64; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique sur les confins pisido - phrygiens', Bulletin de la classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Académie Royale de Belgique XXXIV (1948) 78-96.

soon after he has climbed up from the lower valley and crossed the intervening mountainous rim that he has entered a different and less comfortable region. On both routes the landscape is of wide plains, all but treeless and backed by steep dry mountains supporting only thorn scrub. In winter the mean temperature is some 5°C lower and hard frosts are common. The olives and figs of the lower Maeander have been left behind.[2]

In addition to the absence of major excavations, there is no archival evidence in the form of surviving documents for the upper Maeander in the medieval period, but in the face of the Arabs and Turks the area was of considerable strategic importance and this is reflected in the number of references in chronicles and saints' lives. However these are often hard to interpret because despite some excellent work by Wittek, Gregoire and others the locations of the region's medieval toponymy is still uncertain.[3] This will be raised again in the discussion of individual sites but for the sake of clarity some of the more fundamental place-name problems need to be explained in advance.

Even the Byzantine names for the region as a whole are not certain. The Panasion and Lakerion plains are mentioned by Niketas Choniates in the context of Manuel Comnenos' campaigns east of the Lykos in 1178. In view of the date, two years after the defeat at Myriokephalon in 1176, the Emperor would not have been campaigning east of the Ak dag toward the Selçuk capital at Ikonion, therefore these plains are almost certainly in the upper

4. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195; any advance east of the Ak dağ could only have been a deliberate threat to the Sultan of Ikonion. Manuel avoided any such provocation following his defeat in that area at Myriokephalon in 1176: M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 London (1984) 191-3; NIKETAS CHONIATES 191-8.
5. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 239, 572; P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 26 n. 1.
6. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 239, 572; P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 27 n. 2.
7. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178 (Lampē); 195 (Graos Gala); 178-9, 195 (Choma); 178 (Kelainai).

Maeander.[4] The similarity between Panasion and Banaz makes an identification with the northern part of the upper Maeander, the Banaz ovası, quite convincing although whether the Byzantines would have described the full extent of the Banaz ovası as the Panasion is impossible to know.[5] The location of the Lakerion is even less certain. The apparent similarity with the Turkish name for the plain to the north east of the Acı Tüz Gölü, the Daz kırı, the 'bald steppe', was noticed by W. M. Ramsay who believed that the Greek Lakerion was derived from the Turkish Daz kırı, thus proving that the Turks had taken over the plain by the 1170s.[6] The similarity may have some significance but it certainly cannot be used as evidence to support Ramsay's assertions. Daz kırı has a perfectly reasonable Turkish etymology based on the natural conditions of the plain; Lakerion may equally have a Greek etymology. All other regional place names mentioned by Niketas Choniates are of pre-Turkish origin and there is no need to insist on this as an exception.[7] It would certainly fit the context of Manuel's campaign if this plain were somewhere in the southern part of the upper Maeander but no further specification seems possible.

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The evidence of surviving place names is more persuasive in the case of Choma, whose name is almost certainly preserved in the modern village of Homa, beneath the Ak dağ at the eastern edge of the Baklan ovası. The exact whereabouts of the Byzantine sites are however still unknown. The usual identification with the castle on the hill behind Homa is flatly contradicted by the

8. H. AHRWEILER, 'Choma - Aggéllokastron', REB XXIV (1966) 278-83; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 83 n. 2; W. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 223-4; for a full discussion see infra 226 f.
9. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae ed. H. Delehay, Brussels (1902) 299, 631-4; ATTALEIATES 242, 253; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 117, 172; ANNA COMNENA III, 27, 143; NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 195, 272; KINNAMOS 298.
10. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 197, 219, 400, 422.
11. ibid. 178.
12. G. WEBER, Dinair, Célènes, Apamée, Cibotos Besançon (1892) 9 et passim; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 43, 69-70.
13. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 219-20; Türkiye Harta Genel Müdürlüğü, 1:200,000 (1940-50) Sheets F III and IV.
14. P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 26, 27 n. 2 and plan II.

written sources.[8]

Lampē, as an area and a place, is mentioned in sources from the 9th to the 12th century.[9] The essential pieces of evidence are two itineraries given by Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates, of whom Niketas, as a native of Chonai with kinsmen who actually took part in the events he describes, should have been the better informed.[10]

Niketas records Manuel Comnenos' advance on his disastrous campaign of 1176 as from Laodicea to Chonai, from there to Lampē and thence to the "city of Kelaina where the Maeander has its sources" and from there to Choma and on to Myriokephalon.[11] Kelaina is an alternative ancient name for the city of Apamea, modern Dinar.[12] The usual route from Chonai to Kelaina would be along the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü. The only other route would be to turn to the north and make a detour through the Baklan ovası, but if that had been the case in 1176, whatever its exact site Manuel would have had to have reached Choma before Kelaina.[13] Hence from Niketas Choniates, Lampē must lie on a possible line between Chonai and Kelaina taken along the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü.

One of the possible sites which would fit Niketas' evidence was suggested by P. Wittek in 1935 who wanted to identify Lampē with the Turkish Hambat Kırı which lies to the west and south-west of the Acı Tüz Gölü.[14] This must however be rejected.

15. H. C. HONY, FAHIR IZ, A Turkish-English Dictionary 2nd edn., Oxford (1957) 132-3; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 102-6, 154-5; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor 503-4.
16. H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 82-3.
17. ANNA COMNENA III, 27; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 140, 171, 197, 232; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 82: "Aucune localisation n'est plus sûre que celle de Polybotón - Bulvadin".

There is no need to derive Hambat from Lampē since there exists a more likely Turkish etymology deriving Hambat from Ham, which can mean 'uncultivated' and which would well fit the natural features of this area.[15] Moreover, if Anna Comnena's evidence is taken into account it demands a location for Lampē to the east and north of the lake on the opposite side from the Hambat kırı.

It has been asserted that Anna Comnena's account contradicts the itinerary given by Niketas Choniates and since she most certainly had never been near the upper Maeander her evidence should be disregarded.[16] Her account is of the route taken in 1098 by John Doukas who took an army against the Turks from Laodicea, through Choma to Lampē and thence to Polyboton, which can be identified as the site of modern Bolvadin, 32 kilometres due east of Afyon Karahisar.[17] This appears to place Lampē beyond Choma and certainly if John Doukas were taking a direct route from Choma to Polyboton Anna's account would contradict Niketas whose presumed local knowledge would have to be preferred. However it must be remembered that John Doukas was not marching through Byzantine territory, as was to some extent the case for Manuel Comnenos in 1176. He was instead pursuing a large body of Turkomans whom he had previously defeated near Ephesos and in doing so Doukas was advancing into hitherto Turkish territory. The Turkomans had retreated from Ephesos along the Maeander and thence, Anna tells us rather vaguely, they had retired to Polyboton. Thus, by whatever means, they must have crossed the upper Maeander region and reached the central

18. ANNA COMNENA III, 26-7.

plateau. John Doukas started his pursuit with what appears to have been an attempt to cut them off somewhere near the confluence of the Maeander and the Lykos. He advanced up the valley of the Hermos and then turning south at Philadelphia he reached the Lykos via Tripolis. By the time the Byzantines reached this point the Turkomans had already retired to the east. A number of routes would have been open to the Turks but one would have led across the Baklan ovası and thence directly over the Ak dag̃ by one of the more northerly passes. If this were the case then John Doukas in pursuit would have turned north having reached the upper Maeander region east of Chonai and followed the Baklan ovası in a curve round to Choma. Even if the Turkomans had taken another route the Byzantines might still have found it advantageous to drive whatever Turks were there from these natural grazing lands.

Having reached Choma and discovered that the enemy were beyond the Ak dag̃ John Doukas would have been faced by a range of possibilities. His cavalry would have been less mobile than his Turkoman opponents and in unknown country a wise general would avoid the steep and easily defended passes which led directly on to the central plateau. Thus the most obvious course was to turn south and cross the Ak dag̃ by the main pass at Apamea - Niketas Choniates' Kelaina, modern Dinar. The route would also have had the advantage that the Apamea pass was at a nodal point of the Roman road system; from there a road ran directly to Polyboton where he caught up with the Turks and won a major victory.[13]

19. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 227-8, 347.
20. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 631-4.

Anna describes Lampē between Choma and Polyboton. If Lampē did not lie in the Hambat Kırı, as Wittek suggested, but was instead to the north-east of the lake, John Doukas' journey from Choma to the Apamea pass could easily have taken him through this very area. Such a location for Lampē would make sense of the texts and remove the contradiction between Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates. This identification has already been suggested by W. M. Ramsay on the poor grounds of the hypothetical derivation of the Turkish place name Appa from the Greek Lampē. [19] His identification of the general area in which Lampē lay is confirmed, but it is comparison and analysis of texts which provides the proof. The actual site still cannot be found and there is no evidence as yet to support Ramsay's view that it was at Appa.

There are two other references to Lampē in the medieval sources, which although not decisive, can marginally strengthen the case for a location in the eastern part of the Baklan ovası.

Pentadaktylos was the site of a fortress where the Emperor Leo V imprisoned John, the iconodule abbot of the monastery of the Kathari. The only reference to the fortress is in the Life of the Abbot John, found in the Synaxarion for Constantinople, where Pentadaktylos is described as in the territory of Lampē. [20] The Turkish translation of Pentadaktylos is Beşparmak, which is the name of the five peaked mountain ridge

21. H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 81-2; V. GRUMEL, 'Les relations politico-religieuses entre Byzance et Rome sous le règne de Léon V l'Arménien', REB XVIII (1960) 23.
22. I made a brief visit to this area in September 1986.
23. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195.
24. P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 26-7 n. 2.
25. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 228-30.

above the village of Baklan, overlooking the western side of the plain.[21] The general assumption that Pentadaktylos lay on this mountain seems to be confirmed by the find there of the remains of a medieval settlement. None of the accessible mortared fragments helps dating, but this is a natural look-out point which would have been important in the defensive war against the Arabs. The site could fit in with either suggested site for Lampē but the fact that the mountain is most easily approached by a road leading from the eastern part of the Baklan ovası tends to favour that location.[22]

The other reference is Niketas Choniates' statement that Charax lay between Lampē and another unknown site, that of Graos Gala. [23] Unfortunately neither Charax nor Graos Gala can be located with certainty, although several reasonable suggestions have been made for both. In particular Wittek has wanted to identify Charax with Çardak in the Hambat kırı at the western end of the Acı Tûz Gölü on the grounds of the similarity in name.[24] However such an approach is very uncertain, and Ramsay was in general better advised when he relied on an interpretation of Niketas Choniates' text in the light of local physical geography. Thus Ramsay placed Graos Gala - 'old woman's milk' - at the head of the pass ascending from the Lykos valley.[25]

Since Ramsay and Wittek wrote, a castle has actually been discovered at Çardak on a peak to the north overlooking the plain. The site is that of an early Byzantine castle and like

26. Visited September 1986.

27. See L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 343-55.

the Beş Parmak dağ - which one can see from here - is a natural look-out point with views over the entire valley of the Acı Tuz Gölü.[26] The find does not of course confirm the identification with Charax but it does focus the discussion on a particular site. If it is Charax then the apparent absence of glazed pottery would be a problematic feature, but equally if it is Charax this would do much to confirm the eastern location for Lampē. Niketas tells us that Charax lay between Lampē and Graos Gala: a Graos Gala at the head of the Lykos, a Charax on the mountain behind Çardak, and a Lampē in the Daz kırı would fit the description well.

Another fortress in this region is known because the great iconodule, St. Theodore the Stoudite, was imprisoned there in the early 9th century. His prison, a fortress called Bonita, is described in the Life of St. Theodore as in the theme of the Anatolikoi near a salt lake. The Life also reveals that Bonita was a day's journey east of Chonai. Since the salt lake is clearly the bitter lake of the Acı Tuz Gölü, Bonita must lie somewhere in that valley or on the adjacent hills. L. Robert has suggested a site to the south of the lake but that is really no more than a guess.[27] The castle at Çardak would fit the description, but if a previously unknown castle can be found at Çardak, others may yet be found in the unexplored hills to the south.

The number of references to medieval place-names in the

28. See supra 70-71.
29. See R. J. LILIE, Die byzantinischen Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber 133-55, 339-47, (also 358: although misleading as a map - and not only for the site of Ephesos - it does well express Lilie's thesis which on this point I believe to be correct); J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 23-6, 188-237.

upper Maeander reflects the position of strategic importance which the region came to occupy from the 8th century. During the second half of the 7th and early 8th century warfare between Byzantium and the Arabs went through a phase of major Arab invasions intent on the conquest of Constantinople itself. Linked with the defence of the Imperial capital the critical area in this struggle was the western coastlands where, as suggested above, the fortifications at Sardis and Pergamon are likely to be part of the Imperial government's response to this crisis.[28] After the mid-8th century the pattern changed to one of chronic Arab raiding. These were sometimes on a large and threatening scale, but with some rare exceptions such as Harun al-Rashid's campaign of 781, they appear never to have aimed at Constantinople nor at the permanent occupation of the central plateau. The Byzantine response was one of a flexible defence in depth. Arab armies would be shadowed, major engagements avoided and their booty hopefully evacuated in advance. Flexible defence, however, stopped with the belt of mountains which ring the central plateau and separate it from the coastal plains. Here were many of the great Byzantine fortresses and the homelands of the military families; here was where the Byzantine armies were prepared to stand and fight.[29]

From the point of view of the Imperial government in Constantinople there are two main routes crossing the central plateau to the Arab marches. The more northerly of these went via Ankara to Caesarea and from there either east to Melitene or

30. This is a simplification focusing on the southern part of the frontier. The northern route also continued east into northern Armenia. There is still no definitive work on either Roman or Byzantine roads in Asia Minor which would finally replace W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 197f. and W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, A Classical Map of Asia Minor London (1958); however see D. FRENCH, 'The Roman Road System of Asia Minor' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt VII/2 (1980), 698-729, (Ankara: 707-11); G. HUXLEY, 'A List of aplekta' GRBS XVI (1975) 87-93; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 93-101.
31. C. FOSS, 'Late Antique und Byzantine Ankara', DOP XXXI (1977) 72-84; R.-J. LILIE, Die byzantinischen Reaktion 348; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 126-30; G. HUXLEY, 'A List of aplekta' 92; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien 70-84, 193-6; LEO DIACONUS 40, 44, 113.
32. Kütahya, Amorion, Akroenos (Afyon Karahisar), Sozopolis and Kabala are well attested: C. FOSS, Kütahya 13 et passim; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 122-5, 182-3, plates 12-14; W. M. RAMSAY, 'Prymnessos and Metropolis', Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Athen VII (1882) 126f; C. FOSS, 'The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks' Greek Orthodox Theological Review XXVII (1982) 153-7; MAMA IV, 149, xii-xiv, plates 5-7. Dorylaion is frequently mentioned in the sources in similar contexts, although until its rebuilding by Manuel I in 1175-6 it is not specifically called a fortress. The modern town and prison have so far prevented examination of the site but it is very unlikely that it was an exception: G. HUXLEY, 'A List of aplekta' 92; LEO DIACONUS 117; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 126; NIKETAS CHONIATES 175-7; KINNAMOS 294-8; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 278; MAMAV, xi-xiv.
33. K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 93-110.

south to Maraş. The southerly route followed the western edge of the plateau to Ikonion and thence to the Cilician gates. In both cases the way is marked by major fortresses intended as gathering points for Imperial armies or obstructions to the advancing Arabs. Behind these lines in the relative safety of the hills lay important recruiting grounds for the theme armies.[30]

In the north the two most important fortresses were those at Ankara and Caesarea but there were also a range of other minor defences behind which lay the themes of the Cappadocians, the Armeniakoi, the Paphlagonians and the Boukellarioi.[31] A similar defensive belt existed on the southern route, but within that the heart of the southern sector of the Byzantine defences lay in the mountains to the west of the plateau. There are major fortresses known from this period at Dorylaion, Kütahya, Amorion, Akroenos (Afyon Karahisar) Sozopolis and Kabala. They are linked by Roman roads which offered Byzantine armies the advantage of internal lines of communication. This is the heartland of the senior theme of the Anatolikoi.[32]

Within the territory of the Anatolikoi the upper Maeander region was placed to play an important role. It lies to the rear of the main fortress zone protected by the north-south mountain ranges of the Ak dağ in the south and the Burgaz dağ in the north. Yet it is linked to the outside world via the Roman road system. Important east-west routes reach from the upper Maeander to Kütahya, Afyon and Sozopolis by easily defensible passes.[33]

34. LEO OF SYNADA 68-70; L. ROBERT, 'Les Kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies; sur les lettres d'un metropolite de Phrygie au Xe siècle; philologie et réalités' Journal des Savants (1961) 115-62; see also supra 6 - 10.

35. Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium ed. J. Rouge', Sources Chrétiennes 124, Paris (1966) 176.

36. S. MITCHELL, 'Population and Land in Roman Galatia' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt VII/2 (1980) 1055-6, 1068-70; many of the villages survived, see J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 211-17; note also Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium 178: 'inde obviat Galatia provincia optima sibi sufficiens divinum panem et eminentissimum manducare dicitur'.

37. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 320; II/2, 148, 151; KODAMA IBN DJA'FAR in IBN KHORDĀDHBEH, Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik ed. M. J. de Goeje, Biblioteca Geographorum Arabicorum VI, Leiden (1889) 199-200.

Moreover it is a potentially wealthy agricultural area which although by nature distinct from the mediterranean world of the lower Maeander was still wheat and fruit-growing country. unlike the territory of for example Synada on the central plateau beyond the Ak dag̃.[34] Parts of the Baklan ovası were well known in antiquity for their fertility and their modern exploitation can be seen by the present day traveller. Set away from the main thrust of the Arab raids, such an area as the upper Maeander could be expected to have supported the prosperous military class who provided the cavalry of the theme army.

To the east on the central plateau there are indications that from the 7th century the pattern of settlement and exploitation had shifted from the agricultural to the pastoral. It is fair to remark that on these high plains pastoralism is a natural mode of exploitation. Flocks, herds and pastoral products appear in the earliest sources for the region. In the mid-4th century A.D. the anonymous author of the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium still associated Cappadocia with pastoral products such as hides and animals.[35] Yet in the Roman and late Roman periods much of the plateau had been settled by a network of villages and towns.[36] In the Byzantine period many of these disappeared leaving a few major fortress centres such as Caesarea or Ankara. The Arab chronicles and poets of the 8th to 10th century celebrate the huge numbers of sheep, cattle and horses driven back to Syria and Cilicia by successful raiders.[37] Indeed a Byzantine expert on raiding warfare saw the evacuation

38. Three Byzantine Military Treatises ed. G. T. Dennis, 158, 182, 212: the author is primarily concerned with valuable draught oxen but he includes flocks and herds in the animals to be evacuated.
39. See M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 54-6; X. DE PLANHOL, De la plaine Pamphylienne aux lacs Pisidiens - Nomadisme et vie Paysanne Paris (1958)
40. F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 102, 239, 247; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor I, 170; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 79; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 126, 502-3. The region became gradually more settled over the course of the 19th century: F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven churches of Asia 229, 236; X. DE PLANHOL, De la plain Pamphylienne aux lacs Pisidiens.
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of animals as a key feature in an effective defence.[38] The Roman period on the plateau was not entirely one of settled agriculture but the Arab invasions do mark a transition which at the very least involved a considerable change in emphasis. For the rest of the medieval period and beyond that up to the 20th century the Anatolian plateau was a sparsely populated dominantly pastoral zone.[39]

The lower Maeander region represents a striking contrast with the central plateau. The continuity there of settlement sites especially in the plains suggests a continuity in settled agriculture up to at least the 12th century. The upper Maeander is by nature an intermediate zone: a source of fine grazing but also containing areas of potentially good arable land. However the evidence for the Byzantine period is fairly clear that again up to the Turkish invasions settled agriculture continued to be the dominant activity in this area. Protected behind mountains and fortresses the plains of the upper Maeander were in terms of agriculture and settlement closer to the rest of the Maeander region than to the central plateau.

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This was clearly not the case for most of the modern period. The accounts left by 18th and 19th century travellers show that until only one hundred years ago the plains of the upper Maeander region and in particular the Baklan ovası and the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü were important nomad grazing grounds.[40] This did not exclude settled agriculture.

41. Uşak: EI/1, 'Uşak'; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 252; M. AKOK, 'Uşak Ulu Camii', Vakıflar Dergisi III (1956) 69-72; Işikli: see infra and n. 89.
42. See infra 232-3.
43. W. REGEL, Fontes rerum Byzantinorum sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Rossicae fasc. II, St. Petersburg (1917) 259-61.
44. ANSBERT 76; Historia Peregrinorum 155.
45. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195.
46. ibid. 195-6.
47. ibid. 197.

Travellers saw a number of villages and cultivated fields. Towns such as Uşak and Işıklı grew prosperous as caravan and textile towns, but in view of the available agriculture land they are unlikely to have imported all the necessary grain. Part of their prosperity, reflected in a series of baths and mosques built from the late middle ages onwards, was probably derived from their role as a market of agricultural products to the nomads.[41] Nonetheless the dominant way of life on these plains up to the 19th century was nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralism.

The dominance of the pastoral economy had been established by the later 12th century. In 1192 Isaac II Angelos restored a fortress, possibly Soublaion, and named it Angelokastron.[42] According to the court panegyrist, George Tornikes, it was intended to protect the region from the nomad Turks.[43] These nomads had been seen there two years earlier by the Germans of the Third Crusade as they advanced east from the Lykos valley.[44] In 1178 Manuel I Comnenos successfully drove out the Turks encamped in the Banaz and Baklan ovalarsı,[45] but later in the same year Isaac II's father, Andronikos Angelos, was ignominiously defeated by Turkish nomads in an attempt to take Charax.[46] Niketas Choniates was a native of Chonai and his source was a kinsman who had taken part in the expedition.[47] Andronikos, it appears, had first established a camp at Graos Gala and then had moved with his light troops to attack Charax. Here the Byzantines did no more than seize what Turkoman flocks they could find grazing in the surrounding plain before returning

48. ibid. 179.
49. ibid. 197; see M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 54-6, but note that contra ibid. 55, Niketas' kinsman was not the bishop of Chonai but rather a deacon, levítēs (see A Patristic Greek Lexicon ed. G. W. Lampe, Oxford (1961) 798); furthermore he only brought back one thick fleeced sheep: ois pēgesímallos.
50. ANNA COMNENA III, 26.

toward Graos Gala. At nightfall they had still not reached camp. The Turks and it is probable that these were principally the Turkomans whose flocks had been stolen chose this moment to attack. Following the example of their general the Byzantines panicked and fled west leaving the Turkomans to recover their flocks. Two years before this, Manuel I's army advancing to Myrokephalon in 1176, had been similarly harassed by Turkomans on these plains.[48]

Thus by the 1170s the Turkoman nomads were well established on the upper Maeander plains. It is noteworthy that Niketas Choniates' kinsman was, by his account, one of the few to do well out of the fiasco of the 1178 expedition. He returned to Chonai still carrying his spoils and leading a sheep. His sang froid argues experience in such raids against the Turkomans which in turn suggests that the local Byzantines - he was a deacon of the church at Chonai - had had a long time to come to terms with the way of life of their pastoral neighbours.[49]

The earliest references to the Turkish flocks and herds on the upper Maeander plains come in the Alexiad of Anna Comnena. The account of John Doukas' campaign of 1098 shows large bodies of Turkomans wintering in the western coastlands but it is not specific about the upper Maeander.[50] More explicit is the account given of Eumathios Philokales' bloody campaign against the Turkomans in 1108-9. Philokales drove the Turks from the Lykos and then massacred them on the plain of Lampē where he had

51. IDEM, III, 143.
52. X. DE PLANHOL, De la Plaine Pamphylienne aux lacs Pisidiens 186-8, 195-6, 202; E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey and back to England London (1747) 30; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 126-7; W. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 56, 60, 78, 206-8, 216; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor II, 207. It should be stressed that this is not an argument dependent on environmental determinism. Climate and geography encouraged the Turkomans toward a particular pattern of seasonal migration but other pastoral tactics were open to them, see the useful and cautionary remarks in J. LEWTHWAITE, 'Plain tails from the hills; transhumance in Mediterranean archaeology' in Economic Archaeology ed. A. Sheridan, G. Bailey, BAR International Series 96, Oxford (1981) 57-66.
53. ANNA COMNENA III, 26-7.

found them encamped with their women, children and animals.[51]

The Turkoman nomads were probably only seasonal visitors to the upper Maeander plains. The modern evidence however is very clear that the climate encouraged full nomads to descend from the central plateau in winter down to the lower and warmer plains nearer the coast. For some this could entail a journey as far as the coastal valleys of the west, where several travellers from the 17th to the 19th century have described them wintering with huge flocks.[52] Such a migration also explains the Turkomans whom John Doukas defeated near Ephesos in 1098 and whom he pursued on to the central plateau.[53]

When the lower Aegean coastlands became too dangerous for so distant a migration then the intermediate plains of the upper Maeander region were an important alternative. Thus during the periods of Byzantine recovery in the 12th and 13th centuries the upper Maeander played a crucial part in the Turkoman nomad economy. Even if their presence was only seasonal the very importance of the region to the Turkoman tribes would be bound to make settled agriculture on any significant scale all but impossible.

However the evidence is very clear that this dominance of the pastoral economy was a result of the Turkish invasions and before that date, in the Byzantine period, different conditions prevailed. In the future it should be possible to establish

54. 'Vie de Saint Luc le stylite (879-979)' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, PO XI (1915) 175-186; H. OMONT, Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale Paris (1898) nrs. 1458, 1589.

these developments on the basis of field survey and archaeology, but at present the best evidence is to be found in the Life of St. Luke the Stylite, a 10th century saint who was born in Phrygia but spent the better part of his saintly career on a column near Constantinople.

The fullest version of the Life is in an 11th century manuscript, Paris Gr. 1458. There are also two versions in the Synexaria. These are basically condensed versions of Paris Gr. 1458 but they do contain some phrases drawn from what must hence have been the common source of all three manuscripts. The more valuable of the Synexaria versions is found in Paris Gr. 1589, another mid-11th century manuscript. Paris Gr. 1458 is clearly a Constantinopolitan version showing a lack of interest in any geography outside the Imperial city. Thus it merely records the saint's place of birth by the literary paraphrase of "a land whose name sounds like anatolē". Paris Gr. 1589, however, has fortunately recorded St. Luke's birth place in full as it must have been in the original Life: "the Chōrion of Attikōm of the bandon of Lampē of the theme of the Anatolikoi." Since this fits in with the few other geographical details given in the Life and such precision is hardly Byzantine invention this evidence should be accepted.[54]

The site of Atykōm, or Attikōm depending on the manuscript variant, is unknown. Since A. Vogt made the suggestion in 1909 it has been usual to identify Atykōm with the Atychorion known

55. A. VOGT, 'Vie de S. Luc le stylite', AB XXVIII (1909) 9; W.
M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 136;
IDEM, Cities and Bishoprics 132, 146, 580, 584 n. 3, 587;
L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 129, 356-63.

from an inscription at the sanctuary of Apollo Larbenos in the Çal hills between the Baklan ovası and the lower Maeander. W. Ramsay misunderstood the inscription to be identifying the name of the sanctuary settlement, but as L. Robert has pointed out it in fact only refers to the place of origin of a certain Apollonios who paid for a portico to the sanctuary. L. Robert has noted another inscription mentioning an Apollonios at Zeive, a few miles to the south east, and he has been tempted to identify this evidently ancient site as Atychorion. However L. Robert himself has pointed to the flaws in this identification. In the first place recorded donors to the sanctuary of Apollo Larbenos came from as far afield as Blaundos and Hierapolis. There is no pressing reason to identify Atychorion with an immediately local site. Secondly, the identification of Atykōm with Atychorion depends on the unwarranted assumption that Ramsay knew all the ancient place names of Phrygia. In another place L. Robert has demonstrated how the chance survival of a saint's Life or a similar such document with details of the local toponymy can add dozens of otherwise unknown village names. Atys is well known as a Phrygian cult and one would expect it to have been common in Phrygian place names. Were it not for the repeated statements made on this point in the literature the similarity between Atykōm and Atychorion would deserve no more than a brief reference in a footnote. It certainly does not advance the question of the location of Lampē and can add nothing to the discussion.[55]

56. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 207-8; for the date see ibid. 159-70.
57. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 581.
58. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 210-11: the emendation in 211 n. 3 is unnecessary, L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 359 n. 4; for the road see W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, A Classical Map of Asia Minor.
59. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 239-41; ATTALEIATES 265.
60. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-7; for the date see R. MORRIS, 'The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality' Past and Present LXXIII (1976) 8-10.
61. N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures Economiques de l'Empire Byzantin au XIe siècle', TM VI (1976) 55; however see the remarks in W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries New York (1982) 55-8.

The reference to Lampē in the Life of St. Luke however does place the saint's birthplace unequivocally in the southern part of the upper Maeander region and this is supported by the other geographical details given in the Life. In about 926 St. Luke was for a while a candidate for the bishopric of Sebaste.[56] This was a local suffragan see of the metropolitan of Laodicea. The site has been identified at the modern village of Selçikler, just over 3 kilometres to the west of Sivaslı, on the eastern side of the Banaz ovası.[57] Shortly afterwards St. Luke would have passed through Sebaste following the Roman road to Kûtahya near where he spent two and a half years tending pigs.[58] The same route was followed by Nikephoros Botaneiates in 1078.[59] The overall coherence of these details even in a version of the Life which tends to show more interest in Constantinople would suggest that this is a reliable source for the condition of the upper Maeander in the 10th century.

The Life shows that in contrast to the pastoralism of the 12th century, in the 10th century the Baklan ovası was an area of mixed agricultural economy with the best land given over to arable. In the famine of 927-8 St. Luke was able to dispense 4,000 modioi of grain to the starving from his family's granaries.[60] This was the family's reserve stock, presumably also depleted by the poor harvest and in addition to that set by to feed the family itself. Yet these granaries still contained about ten times what has been calculated as the annual production of grain from a peasant holding.[61] One cannot usefully

62. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 30-38; 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 199-200.
63. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 299-300.
64. See supra 197f .
65. E. W. BROOKS, 'Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes', JHS XXI (1901) 67-77; IBN KHURRĀDHBIH 77, 144, 192-200; MAÇOUDI, Le Livre de l'Avertissement et de la Revision trans. B. Carra de Vaux, Société Antique, Paris (1896) 240-4, 257; see also 'Ibn al-Fakīh' EI/2; 'Kudama' EI/2; 'al-Mas'ūdī' EI/1; Ibn Khurrada-ahbih' EI/2; on Ibn al-Fakīh note the remarks of A. MIQUEL, La Géographie Humaine de Monde Musulman I Paris (1967) 153-89.

calculate the acreage needed to provide such a surplus but it is obvious that it must have been substantial.

The case of St. Luke is part of the evidence that shows that such wealthy 'gentry' were typical of the cavalry soldiers of the theme army.[62] The saint's family were registered for military service under the bandon of Lampé.[63] Since, as the discussion above has shown, one can be certain of the approximate area in which this bandon lay,[64] and since the number of cavalry soldiers in a bandon is also fairly well documented, the evidence given in the Life for the lands of St. Luke's family, can be used to show that most of the Baklan ovası must have been arable in the 10th century.

The most explicit source for the structure of the Byzantine army in the 9th and early 10th century is an Arab report compiled by a certain al-Garmi in the mid-9th century. He had held a post, possibly as an intelligence officer, on the north-western frontier of the Islamic world. He had then spent some time as a prisoner of war of the Byzantines before being released in an exchange of prisoners in 845. His report was the main source of information on Byzantium for all the 10th century Arab geographers. It does not survive, but most seems to have been preserved through the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Ibn al-Fakih and Abu'l Faradj Kodama, the Secretary.[65]

According to al-Garmi, the themes were divided into tourmai

66. IBN KHURDADHBIH 84, 196; W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine state finances 19 and n. 56.
67. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 133-40; CONSTANTINE PROPHYROGENITOS, De.Cer. I, 651-69; IDEM, DAI 236.
68. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, op.cit. 100-04.
69. NIKEPHOROS PHOKAS, 'Praecepta Militaria' ed. J. Kulakovskij, Mémoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, VIIIe série, Classe Historico - Philologique, VIII/9 (1908) 12.
70. W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine State Finances 80-81.

each of 5,000 men. The tourma was divided into five droungai, 1,000 strong, which in turn were divided into five banda, two hundred strong under a kōmes. [66] The work of J. Howard-Johnston has proved the general accuracy of these figures, which are confirmed when set against the Byzantine sources, in particular the documentary evidence of the official papers preserved in the De Ceremoniis. [67]

Again J. Howard-Johnston has shown that the theme as a whole was divided in a ratio of about 1:4 between cavalry and infantry. [68] This division must have applied to the territorial distribution of troops within the territory of the theme. The cavalry troops would have been spread out over the whole area. Hence there was the same ration within the tourmai and the droungai. The bandon of two hundred men was the smallest unit within the theme, but at two hundred men it was still too large for there to have been landed units of two hundred cavalymen in one place and two hundred infantry in another. The division between cavalry and infantry must have come at a level beneath the bandon when the units ceased to be territorial. The bandon therefore must have been divided in a ratio of 1:4 between cavalry and infantry like the theme as a whole, and hence there were probably about 160 infantry to 40 cavalry. This is confirmed by a reference in the Praecepta Militaria of Nikephoros Phokas which refers to a unit of 50 cavalry as a bandon. [69] The ten extra men seems to have been the result of measures to increase the number of cavalry in the Byzantine army. [70]

71. N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes de Preseance III, 341.
72. See Türkiye Harta Genel Müdürlüğü, F IV.
73. E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey 30.

As the Life records, the bandon of Lampē was part of the theme of the Anatolikoi. Most themes, and certainly that of the Anatolikoi, seem to have been divided into three tourmai. [71] It therefore follows that the Anatolikon was divided into seventy-five banda. One seventy-fifth part of the theme of the Anatolikoi is not a very large area and it follows that the bandon of Lampē cannot have been any larger than a third part of the Baklan ovası. In fact it could well have been smaller and a unit of that size would fit well into the plain to the north-east of the Acı Tüz Gölü which has been suggested as the location of Lampē.

The bandon of Lampē thus covered at most an area of about 25-30 square kilometres of which a considerable percentage was rocky or otherwise unsuitable for arable farming. [72] Even if it is imagined that St. Luke's parents were the wealthiest family on the bandon's military roll and that several of the others were too poor to fulfill their military obligations, while other families had died out, the support of nearly forty such cavalrymen, one hundred and sixty infantry, the dependents of both groups and the rest of the local population must have involved the farming of most of the bandon's arable land. Pastoralism does not permit a high density of population. If Edmund Chishull's description of the region in 1701-2 as "the vast neglected pastures of this desert empire" [73] had been true of the Byzantine period, with the plain deserted and the

74. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-7.
75. N. FIRATLI, 'Decouverte d'une église Byzantine à Sebaste de Phrygie. Rapport preliminaire', Cahiers Archéologiques XIX (1969) 151-66; IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı ve çevre araştırmaları, 1966-70', Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi XIX/2 (1970) 109-26; IDEM, 'Excavations at Selçikler (Sebaste) in Phrygia', Yayla II (1979) 18-21.

population moved to the hills, then the armies of the theme system could not have existed.

Other details of the Life fit into this picture. The animals referred to seem to be either those which played a key role in the arable economy or which were pastured on its margins. In the famine of 927-8 St. Luke not only fed his starving neighbours but provided forage for their animals, which the Life distinguishes as flocks and oxen. The former would have been the sheep and goats which the modern settled population continue to pasture on the poor hill and marsh land; the latter are the draught oxen whose survival was essential if the fields were to be ploughed and sown for next year's crop.[74]

Unlike the lower Maeander where much of the Byzantine evidence has been uncovered as a corollary of the work of classical archaeologists, none of the Greco-Roman city sites in the upper Maeander have been excavated. Indeed there has only been one excavation of any sort in the region: that was at Selçikler where from 1966 N. Fıratlı uncovered two Byzantine churches. This can be identified as the site of Sebaste, but very little attempt was made to find out about the settlement with which these churches were associated. One useful result, however, was that it did lead to a record being kept of the surface finds of Byzantine sculptural fragments in the Uşak region.[75] There are a number of known Byzantine castle sites in the region but none has received any serious study. Many more

are probably to be discovered. My own research has revealed a previously unrecorded castle at Ulubey and in view of the material brought to light by Fıratlı's work, it is certain that future research will add greatly to the knowledge of this region. As yet however archaeology can still only provide supporting evidence for conclusions based on the texts discussed above.

These limitations mean that one cannot approach the region's history in the middle Byzantine period by working forward from the better known circumstances of the Roman cities. In most cases there is no evidence for their fate in the Byzantine period.

Blaundos is an example of a city which does not seem to have survived through the Byzantine period. The city was a Hellenistic foundation set on an excellent defensive site in the rather poor country on the west side of the Banaz ovası. Today the only settlement near the site is a small village and the surrounding countryside is mostly given over to pine forest and rough grazing. During the Roman period the erection of a number of high quality public buildings and the enormous amounts of Roman fineware sherds still visible on the site is evidence of the city's prosperity, and in the 3rd century or later Blaundos could afford to fortify the site with an impressive circuit of ashlar walls. The terminus post quem is given by the various 2nd - 3rd century inscriptions used as spolia in the wall. Despite these defensive advantages there is no evidence that the site

76. Despite the interest of the site Blaundos has not been properly surveyed or published: see S. M. RAMSY, Cities and Bishoprics 591; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise 144-50; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 44, 60, 81-2.
77. EVLIYA ÇELEBI, Seyahatnamesi XIII, ed. Z. Danişman, Istanbul (1971) 57; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern London (1797) 289-90; B. DARKOT, 'Uşak' İslam Ansiklopedisi fasc. 135, Istanbul (1979) 73-5; M. AKOK, 'Uşak Ulu Cami' 69-72: the mosque is dated by inscription to 822 AH 1419 A.D.
78. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1 nr. 324 et passim.
79. ibid. Not. 1 nr. 321 et passim; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 595-6: the identity of the site appears to be assured by the inscription nr. 515 (ibid. 611) = CIG nr. 38656.
80. A. MICHEL, 'Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios' BZ CLI (1941) 446-52.

continued to be occupied into the middle ages. There are no remains of a church on the site and one must presume that the bishop recorded in the notitia lived elsewhere.[76]

Blaundos may have been an exception. Indeed the most difficult feature to explain about this site is the evidence for Roman prosperity. In contrast Uşak is much better placed both because of the available fertile land and in view of the regional route system. Undated medieval remains have been noted here, and there is also a 15th century mosque and a fortress is mentioned from the 17th century.[77] The site is probably that of Flaviopolis - Temenothyrai, which appears as a bishopric in the medieval lists.[78] So also does Trajanoupolis which probably lies six miles to the east at Gâvur Ören and is likewise known as a bishopric.[79] A letter of the Patriarch Michael Keroularios (1043-58) survives instructing the metropolitan of Laodicea to procede in judgement against his suffragan bishop of Trajanoupolis. The latter had been relying on the distance separating his see from Constantinople to avoid answering accusations placed before the Patriarch.[80] Evidently at this date the bishop did reside in his see and at the least this proves the existence of a cathedral church at Trajanoupolis, which of course may not necessarily have been on the ancient site.

More can be said about Kelaina, otherwise known as Apame, modern Dinar, which lies at the western end of one of the most important passes leading from western Asia Minor to the

81. G. WEBER, Dinair, Célènes, Apamée, Cibotos 9-20; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 69-70; DIO CHRYSOSTOM XXXV, 13-16.
82. HIEROKLES 27: Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 374 et passim.
83. LIVY XXXVIII, 13.
84. G. WEBER, Dinair 34-6 and plan; W. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Cities of Asia 109, 247.
85. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178.
86. See supra 199 .
87. Although bishops of this Apamea, as opposed to Bithynian Apamea, are attested at the Councils of 787 and 879, MANSI XIII, 149; XVII, 376.

plateau. The site, like that of Pergamon, divides into an upper and a lower city. The latter, which may more specifically be described as Apamea, developed in the Hellenistic and Roman period. During the first three centuries A.D. Apamea enjoyed a period of great prosperity. It was a major administrative, judicial and commercial centre, set moreover on one of the key points in Asia Minor's Roman road system.[81] However in the later Roman period Apamea was of much less importance. It was no longer a major administrative centre and its decline is marked by its subordinate status in the episcopal notitiae and the Synekdemos of Hierocles which both reflect the circumstances of the late Roman period.[82]

The upper city, known specifically as Kelainai, was already an important fortress in the 5th century B.C. Livy states that it was abandoned when Antiochus I founded Apamea in the 3rd century B.C. but this need not be taken literally.[83] In the late Roman period it was certainly occupied. Arundell and Weber both noticed a church on the site which from the latter's plan and description dates to the 5th 6th century.[84] The subsequent history of the site is however almost unknown. The name Kelainai appears in Niketas Choniates' account of Manuel I's advance to Myriokephalon in 1176,[85] and, as has been observed above, the presumption that Choniates had the ancient site in mind fits the other topographical details.[86] Nonetheless Kelainai is not mentioned in any other source from this period.[87] In particular neither of the western accounts of the

88. G. WEBER, Dinair 21-4.
89. T. DREW-BEAR, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Phrygie Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphium, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam pertinentia XVI, Zutphen (1978) 112-14; MAMA IV, 122-33; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 353-95. Also note the evidence for Roman army units based at Eumeneia as early as the 2nd century A.D., E. RITTERLING, 'Military forces in the Senatorial Provinces' JRS XVII (1927) 28-32; M. P. SPEIDEL, 'The Roman Army in Asia Minor, recent epigraphical discoveries and research' in Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia ed. S. Mitchell, BAR International Series 156, Oxford (1983) 11-13; MAMA IV, 122 nr. 328. An explanation of the remarkable lack of late Roman evidence may lie in the suggestion that this was the Phrygian town destroyed by Diocletian, EUSEBIUS, Historia Ecclesiastica VIII, 11; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 505-8, 514-33.
90. There is no modern published description of the site, but it was noticed by earlier travellers: R. POCOCCKE, A Description of the East II, 80-81; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 147.
91. C. FOSS, 'The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks', 153.

German expedition on the Third Crusade, which must have crossed on to the central plateau by this pass make any mention of Kelainai. In fact there is no reference to a settlement here until the 17th century when the Turkish geographer, Hacı Kalfa mentions the village of Geyikler where a weekly market was held. By the 18th century the village was known as Dinar but its present status as town only dates from the coming of the railway in the later 19th century.[88]

Eumeneia, on the northern edge of the Baklan ovası, has in some ways a similiar history. Numerous inscriptions and remains point to considerable prosperity in the Roman period but after that even its late Roman history is obscure.[89] However unlike Apamea its existence in the middle Byzantine period is certain. There is a fortress on the peak overlooking the town. The section I have seen, on the highest part of the west peak, is pre-Roman but there may well be later remains on the eastern part of the mountain. It will need further exploration to find out.[90] An inscription has been recorded, found "near Eumeneia", recording the construction of a kastron and dated 1070.[91] It cannot with certainty be associated with this fortress, but the peak is an excellent defensive site with wide views over the plain and Eumeneia is on an important Roman road leading to the north east. In the immediate aftermath of the Turkish sack of Chonai works at this site would have been a sensible Byzantine response. Two fragments of middle Byzantine sculpture can also be found as decorative spolia in one of the

92. Unpublished.
93. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 81; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, Discoveries in Asia Minor I, 139, 142; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 366-7.
94. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 122-41, 237-41; L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 127-49; these cities appear in the various notitiae and are recorded at the Councils but only in a manner so that 5 disappear and 12 more are added between Notitia I and the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos' Notitiae VII. It is very unlikely that the latter is a revised list of the current sees but the Phrygian suffragan lists do present problems which are far from being solved, Notitiae Episcopatum 77, 210, 213, 280, 286; J. DARROUZES, 'Sur les variations numériques des évêchés Byzantins', REB XLIV (1986) 20-21, 27, 34, 38-40.

town mosques.[92] There is of course no guarantee as to provenance but since ancient Eumeneia still provides a convenient source of building spolia, it is unlikely that these pieces came from further afield. The disappearance of Byzantine remains can be easily explained by the more recent history of the town. From at least the 18th century the well watered and attractive site, now known as a Işıklı, supported a market centre through which caravans passed on their way to Afyon Karahisar. The consequent prosperity is reflected in the four mosques and two hamams, all built with local spolia. The land surrounding the town is fertile and it will always have been a natural centre of population. Its present status as a village is due to the rise of Çivril, 9 kilometres to the west, which was chosen to be the railway terminus for the Baklan ovası.[93]

There are other fertile areas in the plain, and other ancient cities including Peltai, Lounda and the cities of the Gal hills to the west. The epigraphic record demonstrates their existence in the Roman period, but as yet there is nothing known on the individual history of these sites in the middle ages.[94]

Further north, at Selçikler, on the eastern side of the Banaz ovası, two middle Byzantine churches have been discovered. The site lies about 2 kilometres to the west of Sivaslı and has been identified by inscriptions as that of Sebaste - the similarity in names would in any case have pointed to the identification. The remains are principally those of two

95. See supra n. 75.
96. AJA LXXIX (1975) 221-2; ibid. LXXX (1976) 287-8; ibid. LXXXI (1977) 319; ibid. LXXXIII (1979) 342; N. FIRATLI 'Excavations at Selçikler' Yayla II (1979) 18-19. The excavation and publication of this site was effectively halted by the death of N. Firatli in October 1978. There has still been no proper publication of the south church or of the site as a whole.

churches, about 40 metres apart, both surrounded by a wall making an enclosure of about 200 by 200 metres. The excavations were unfortunately limited to the church buildings and there was no attempt made to establish even by pottery analysis or survey whether there were any other associated secular structures. It is for example quite unclear how far if at all Middle Byzantine Sebaste spread outside this ecclesiastical enclosure.[95]

Both churches can be dated on the grounds of their plan, building techniques and above all associated sculpture to the 10th or 11th century, but both rest on the remains of earlier churches. In the case of the larger south church one can make out at least three phases. At the lowest level is a large Roman bath building constructed of cut stone blocks, sometimes more than 2 metres in width. In the late Roman period the bath was demolished and the blocks were partly re-used in the enclosure wall. A basilica church (20 x 30 metres) was built over the bath site. Its plan places it in the 5th or 6th century, although the associated fragments of a marble ambo and other ecclesiastical furniture might tip the balance toward a 6th century date. In the 10th or 11th century this church was rebuilt, using the apse of the earlier basilica but being otherwise about 2 metres narrower on each side and only about two thirds of the original length. The new church also included a narthex and piers to carry a dome.[96]

There is no evidence of any pre-Christian structure, but

97. N. FIRATLI, 'Découverte d'une église Byzantine' 153-7;
IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 111-12.
98. IDEM, 'Découverte d'une eglise Byzantine' 157; IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 112; AJA LXXI (1967) 172-3; ibid. LXXII (1968) 146.
99. N. FIRATLI, 'Découverte d'une église Byzantine' 153, 155;
IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 113, 125 (plan).
100. N. FIRATLI, 'Découverte d'une église Byzantine' 161-5, 162
(inscription); IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 113-13; IDEM
'Excavations at Selçikler' 19-21. For further discussion of
this church in its ecclesiastical context see infra 468-72.

otherwise the north church had a similar building history. The first north church was a small basilica, 15 by 20 metres. With greater certainty than is the case with the south church, the plan and surviving fragments of architectural sculpture and church furniture date this phase to the 6th century.[97] In the following period the church fell into ruins so that by the 10th 11th century up to 50 centimetres of debris covered the 6th century pavement, yet sufficient survived intact for the whole to be incorporated into a new church.[98] Like the south church this was a typical middle Byzantine domed building rather than a basilica, but here the new church was actually an expansion of two funerary chapels or parekklesia and a large narthex which ran the whole width of the building.[99] The church was decorated with frescoes that are now indecipherable but its most impressive feature was an iconostasis which in great part survives. This was cut from local stone decorated with figures of saints inscribed in circles and encrusted with coloured glass. On the upper side of the architrave is an inscription which attributes the iconostasis to an otherwise unknown Bishop Eustathios. This sculpture is broadly similar to other 10th 11th century work from throughout western Asia Minor, Constantinople and Greece, but its style and choice of motifs can be associated with a group of surviving sculpture produced in western Phrygia at this date.[100]

The discovery of the Sebaste iconostasis led to a limited search for such middle Byzantine sculpture in the Uşak region,

101. AJA LXXIV (1970) 175; N. FIRATLI, 'Uşak-Selçukler kazısı' 121.
102. AJA loc. cit. 175; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 120.
103. AJA LXXV (1971) 181; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 120.
104. AJA LXXIX (1975) 221-2.
105. AJA LXXX (1976) 287-8; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 119.
106. AJA loc.cit. 287-8 and pl. 54; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 118-19.

and a number of fragments were found in the Banaz ovası. These have not yet been properly published outside some notes in a preliminary report but it appears that at Bulkaz dağ, the site of the quarries for the stone used at Sebaste, a rock cut church was found which can be dated by its wall paintings to the 10th century;[101] at Susuzköy near Banaz in the north-east corner of the plain, 19 kilometres from Sebaste/Selçikler, fragments of another iconostasis were found together with similar architectural sculpture built into the walls of the village houses;[102] at Erice, 11 kilometres north-east of Selçikler, a "10th century church" was found;[103] at Eldeniz, 6.5 kilometres to the north, there are the remains of "several Byzantine churches";[104] at Hacımköy, which has been identified as the site of ancient Alouda, there are more middle Byzantine architectural fragments;[105] and finally, at Payamları, identified as ancient Paleo-Sebaste or Leonna, lying 6 kilometres east of Selçikler, there are the remains of a small church of unknown date.[106]

This is very important evidence, and it does show how much more of the middle Byzantine period could be revealed by a detailed survey. The concentration of middle Byzantine finds in this area only reflects the initiative of N. Fıratlı and the administrative boundaries of the province. Beyond the Uşak vilayet another museum would have been responsible. These finds therefore cannot establish a settlement pattern, nor can they support regional comparisons at least within Asia Minor. Even

107. See A. GRABAR, Sculptures Byzantines II 93-126, pls. LXIII-LXXXV.

so, this evidence is a striking confirmation of the conclusions which have already been drawn from the Life of St. Luke. Ancient city sites, such as Sebaste and Aloudda, were at the least occupied in the 10th - 11th centuries.

What had happened since the 7th century is unknown but there is no need to presume desertion of these sites. At Sebaste the existence of the enclosure wall, the two churches and the survival of the place name as Sivaslı would at least be compatible with continued occupation. The rebuilding of the churches could point in other directions - but both would have been over 400 years old when the new churches were put up.

In any case the existence of settlements on such open sites as Sebaste and Aloudda in the 10th - 11th century, both of which lack any natural defensive advantage, shows that the Banaz ovası supported a settled population which almost certainly practised arable agriculture. By the 12th and 13th century the area seems to have been given over to the Turkoman flocks. There is no evidence of any later occupation at Sebaste, or indeed anywhere else in the Banaz ovası. In particular no 12th or 13th century architectural sculpture has been recorded. Further west, at for example Magnesia under Sipylon or even in Greece, such later sculpture is relatively common.[107] By contrast in the Banaz ovası the tradition of Phrygian sculpture seems to have come to an end. It would seem likely that the end of the sculpture coincides with the end of the settled communities and a shift to

108. See supra 195f .

109. Türkiye, Harta Genel Müdürlüğü, F IV.

a new pastoral and nomadic economy in the plain.

No more can be said about the settlement sites of the upper Maeander region, but a study of the castles can add a little to the discussion. As was pointed out above,[108] the medieval sources name a number of fortresses: Bonita, Charax, Lampē, Pentadaktylos, Soublaion and Choma. The sites of Bonita and Lampē are unknown outside a general area, but the other names can with varying degrees of confidence be attached to known remains. The identification of both Charax and Pentadaktylos is hypothetical, but whatever the case may be, the two castles above Çardak and on the Beşparmak dağ are neither of them examples of a settlement moved from the plain. They are both essentially lookout posts, each visible from the other, which could provide advanced warning of approaching enemy raiders. Both are extremely small and dependent on cisterns for a water supply. Just at Sardis these are a part of the Byzantine response to Arab attack, rather than evidence for a new settlement pattern.

There are three other fortresses known by name in this region: Choma, Soublaion, and a third, not yet mentioned, Angelokastron. The place name Choma survives as Homa,[109] a Turkish village on the north eastern edge of the Baklan ovası, set on the lowest slopes of the Ak dağ. Above the village is a fortress. The failure of successive commentators to visit the site has unfortunately led to the general acceptance of the mistaken view that Choma, Soublaion and Angelokastron were all

110. Phrygian Choma should not be confused with the Lycian bishopric of the same name, HIEROKLES 31; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 267 et passim; c.f. A. HOHLWEG, Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des öströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia I (1965) 81-2.
111. PLINY, Naturalis Historia V, 106; PTOLOMY, Geographiae V, 2; HIEROKLES 25; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 329 et passim; KINNAMOS 298; NIKETAS CHONIATES 177.

the same place and that that is to be identified with the fortress above the village of Homa. This view is so entrenched and these sites play such an important role in the history of the region in the 11th and 12th century that the argument is worth rehearsing in full.

Choma is not mentioned, before the 11th century. It does not appear in either the Synekdemosis or in any of the episcopal notitiae.[110]

Soublaion, however, or Sibliā, is already attested in the Roman period. Pliny, Ptolemy, Hierokles and the notitiae all refer to either the people or the city; moreover Soublaion appears again in the 12th century in the writings of John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates. These sources are not very informative but they do reveal the general area in which Soublaion lay. Pliny includes the people of the Silbiani in the judicial district, or conventus, of Apamea. Ptolemy places Silbion somewhere in the centre of Phrygia toward the south side. Hierokles lists Sibliā after Peltai, which lies somewhere in the western half of the Baklan ovası, south of Çivril, and Eumeneia, which as we have seen lay at Işıklı. All three cities are placed in Phrygia Pakatiana, and Soublaion also appears in the notitiae as a suffragan bishopric of Laodicea, the metropolitan see of the same province.[111]

This evidence led Ramsay first of all to the conclusion

- 112. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 221, 578-9.
- 113. NIKETAS CHONIATES 177.
- 114. KINNAMOS 298.
- 115. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178.

that Choma and Soublaion were identical. Since the Ak dağ was the dividing line between Phrygia Pakatiana and Phrygia Saloutaria, Soublaion must have lain to the west. Apamea itself was in Pisidia, but the territory of its conventus included the part of Phrygia Pakatiana now called the Baklan ovası. Following the order in Hierokles which gives Peltai, Eumeneia, Sibliā, Ramsay inferred that the latter lay in the south eastern corner of the Baklan ovası just to the north-west of Apamea.[112]

According to Niketas Choniates, in 1175, as part of his increasingly aggressive strategy toward the Selçuk Turks, Manuel I rebuilt two fortresses: one was at Dorylaion, the other at Soublaion.[113] This is also mentioned by John Kinnamos who adds that Soublaion was near Lampē and the source of the Maeander, thus confirming that the ancient and medieval sites are in the same area.[114] Niketas Choniates does not mention Soublaion again, but his account of the 1176 campaign Niketas does describe Manuel going toward Myriokephalon by way of Choma.[115] Ramsay already believed it to be a general pattern for ancient sites to migrate to the hills in the medieval period. Since he also imagined on the basis of an interpretation of Bishop Eulalios' signature at the council of Chalcedon in 451, which reads epískopos tēs en Siblianōi hagías tou theou ēkklesías, that the Sibliani did not have a single city settlement at this date, it was easy for Ramsay to interpret Niketas Choniates' words as evidence that Soublaion and Choma were one and the same place. In the troubled period from the 7th century, Soublaion would have

116. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 221-4.
117. J. G. C. ANDERSON, 'A Summer in Phrygia: II' JHS XVIII
(1898) 93-4.
118. See supra 193 .
119. NIKETAS CHONIATES 150.

needed defences. It would have moved to the hills, and in roughly the correct area Ramsay found Homa, that is Choma, which he knew to have been a fortress from his reading of the 11th and 12th century sources. He duly identified this site as Choma - Soublaion.[116]

As Ramsay correctly saw, the Roman sources do place Soublaion somewhere in the southern part of the upper Maeander region but there are almost any number of other possible sites. Contrary to Ramsay's assertion, a polis of Sibia is attested on an inscription by the 3rd century,[117] and one must presume the existence of public buildings, later an episcopal church and probably a wall. Since, as we have seen in the lower Maeander region,[118] Ramsay's hypothesis of a general move to the hills has no validity, it cannot bear on this particular case.

The text of Niketas Choniates does not demand that Choma and Soublaion are identical, and John Kinnanos's reference does no more than confirm what was known already from the Roman sources. More important, however, is Niketas Choniates' quite explicit assertion that Manuel I's building policy was aimed at recovering the plains for settled agriculture. This involved building fortresses in the plains themselves where they would be a direct threat to the Turkoman nomads who wished to use the same territory for winter grazing.[119] Niketas links Soublaion as a pair with the reconstruction of Dorylaion. In the latter case there is no doubt that the new fortress was built on the ancient

120. KINNAMOS 294-6; NIKETAS CHONIATES 176-7, 189, 192; MAMA V, xi-xiv.
121. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 225.
122. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOI 265, 271, 273; ANNA COMNENA I, 18, 21-2, 100, 103, 130, 131.

site in the midst of the Turkoman grazing grounds. It was its position there rather than on a neighbouring peak which made it such a threat to the Turks, and made its destruction such a significant gain from their victory at Myriocephalon. Soublaion was part of the same policy; the Baklan ovası was a grazing area of comparable importance to the plain of Dorylaion, and the destruction of Soublaion was linked with that of Dorylaion as one of the key Byzantine concessions in 1176. Like Dorylaion, Soublaion was no doubt built in the plain as a direct threat to the nomad winter grazing.[120]

At Dorylaion and at several other of Manuel I's fortresses such as Pergamon the rebuilding involved the re-use of an ancient site which had only been abandoned with the coming of the Turks in the last fifty years. Like these Soublaion was a Roman city and a bishopric, and the most probable hypothesis would make the site a settlement in the plain occupied throughout the middle Byzantine period up to the coming of the Turks. There are several settlement mounds in this part of the Baklan ovası which could be considered as candidates for Soublaion.[121]

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Choma appears for the first time in the 11th century as the area from which the Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates drew his military support. The Chomatanoi, as they were called, came with Botaneiates in 1078 from Phrygia to Constantinople where they were to form a major part of the Byzantine armed forces for at least the following decade.[122] At the same period, yet having

123. ANNA COMNENA I, 131.
124. ibid. III, 27; NIKETAS CHONIATES 178-9, 195.
125. See K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 182-3.
126. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 224 n. 1; H. AHRWEILER, 'Choma-Aggélokastron' 278-81.

no apparent connection with these Chomatenoi, a toparch of Cappadocia and Choma is mentioned by Anna Comnena. He was a certain Bourtzes whom the new Emperor, Alexios, had summoned to take part in the 1081 campaign against Robert Guiscard's invasion of the Balkans.[123] In the 12th century Choma is mentioned by Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates as a place-name on the itinerary of Byzantine campaigns against the Turks.[124]

These references have created the impression that Choma was a major fortress at least on the scale of, for example, the great castle at Kabala in Lykaonia.[125] Such a fortress is what both Ramsay and more recently Ahrweiler thought they had at Homa, but in fact it appears that instead of visiting the site both had been put off by the climb and they had taken what was there for granted.[126]

The fortress at Homa is set on a peak 4 kilometres north-east of the village and about 1,500 metres above the level of the plain. The peak itself is a block of whitish limestone hence its local name, the Ak kale - all but sheer on three sides and about 200 metres high. On the fourth side the peak has been eroded into a very steep scree slope which descends to a further cliff above a ravine. The surviving structures on the site cling to the top and to this slope. The area of level ground is very small and limited to terraces none larger than about 3 by 2 metres. The few remains on the site are rough mortared field stone walls. No brick has been found nor pottery. The peak is

127. There is no published description.
128. 'Viede S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-7.
129. See C. FOSS 'The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks',
145-205.

of course waterless and there are no surviving remains of a cistern.[127]

These ruins are not those of an important settlement. As with the more substantial remains on the peak above Çardak, they are no evidence of a change in the settlement pattern and they do not show a movement from the plain to the hills. Nor are they a refuge site: it is far too small and inaccessible to offer advantage to a population wishing temporarily to abandon the plain in the face of raiders. The Ak kale is the natural abode of the goat, but no cow or horse can ever have been hoisted there for safety. The ploughing oxen mentioned in the Life of St. Luke and so essential to the arable economy of the plain would have to have gone elsewhere.[128]

The very fragmentary mortared rough stone walling is almost impossible to date, although it can be ascribed to the medieval or modern period rather than to the Roman or Hellenistic. It is for example very different from the pre-Roman dry stone walls on top of the peak behind Işıklı - Eumeneia. Whatever the date this is certainly not Imperial Comnenian work. The other identifiable works of Manuel I are made distinctive by the decorative bands of brick and masonry. They are also all built on a much larger scale and on less remote sites.[129] The same objection applies to Ahrweiler's case for identifying this site with Angelokastron, the last of the fortresses to be named in the sources. Angelokastron is lauded by George Tornikes as a splendid Imperial

130. H. AHRWEILER, 'Choma-Aggélokastron' 281-2.

achievement in a panegyric addressed to the Emperor Isaac II Angelos.[130] Angelokastron could well be another name for Soublaion, but it is certainly not the name of the remains on the peak at Homa.

Like the castles above Çardak and on the Beşparmak dağ, the tiny castle at Homa is not an important fortress but rather a look-out point. The real advantage of the site is the view. From the peak one can see over most of the northern and eastern Baklan ovası as far as Çivril in the north-west and toward Dinar in the south. Particularly in the summer when clouds of dust make the movement of armies visible for miles the peak offers an excellent early warning of approaching danger. It is a facility that was no doubt used by both the Byzantines in face of the Arabs, and by the later Turks whose herds grazed on the plain below.

The exact site of Choma is thus unknown, but the existence of the Turkish village name is strong evidence that it was somewhere nearby. The modern village, set on the edge of the plain far below the castle, is a pleasant, verdant and well-watered site. There are several pieces of Roman stone in the village and although these could have come from elsewhere it would be surprising if this attractive site had not been occupied. There are no visible medieval remains but the village has not been carefully explored. Until a proper survey may raise alternatives, the village remains the most likely

131. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 233, nr. 82. Ramsay seems to have had doubts as to the location of Choma because he also raised the possibility that Choma referred to a larger region as in τὸν Βοῦρτζῆν Τὸπάρχην ὄντα Καππαδοκίας καὶ Χόματος καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς λογάδας ANNA COMNENA I, 131. That may be the correct interpretation in that particular instance but the other references to Choma discussed above are evidently to a place name. There are several other fortresses in these mountains, such as that reported by Anderson in 1897. Only when these and the Byzantine sites in the plain have been recorded, will it be possible to identify the sites mentioned in the sources with any confidence: J. G. C. ANDERSON 'A Summer in Phrygia: II' 94 n. 1.
132. This, and the following discussion of the castle, is based on two visits to the region made in 1982 and 1985. In particular in April 1985 I made a careful examination of the castle at Ulubey. See also F. V. J. ARUNDELL, Discoveries in Asia Minor 77-96; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 571-3, 611, 619.

possibility.[131]

The largest known medieval castle in the upper Maeander region has no name and it is not in the Baklan ovası where one might have expected from the written sources, but to the north in the Banaz ovası, about which the Byzantine sources are almost completely silent.

The town of Ulubey, known until this century as Göbek, lies on the south-western side of the Banaz ovası, about 13 kilometres north-east of Blaundos. The surrounding landscape is gently undulating and today slightly bleak arable land, although it is noticeably more fertile than in the vicinity of Blaundos which is now mostly given over to the Turkish Forestry Commission. North-south movement is relatively easy in this sector of the Banaz ovası but travelling east-west one soon discovers that the apparently level plain is broken by deep canyons excavated by the tributaries of the Maeander which drain the Banaz ovası to join the main river to the west of the Çal hills.[132]

Modern Ulubey is a small market town which looks to Uşak as the regional centre. Fairly numerous spolia and the remains of what appears to be a tomb in situ suggest this was a Roman site. Otherwise the oldest mosque is not older than the 16th century. There are no indications of any circuit of walls or of any middle Byzantine sculpture.

133. W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 125-6.

About 2 kilometres to the east of Ulubey and totally invisible from the town is a large meandering canyon in the midst of which set on a huge rock pinnacle linked to the west bank only by a narrow natural causeway are the remains of a substantial castle.

The hidden position of the site has meant that among several visitors to Ulubey only Hamilton in 1836 actually saw the castle. He had taken an unusual route across the southern part of the plain, going from east to west against the grain of the landscape. He was actually led to the site by his Turkish guide who knew that his employer was looking for eski memer. Hamilton was suitably impressed by the magnificent scenery of the canyon, but, in his words, "the castle itself was as usual a disappointment; we climbed up to it with great difficulty, and found only a few walls of rude coarse masonry ..". There has been no subsequent modern description.[133]

Hamilton was really looking for inscriptions but in fact he may have dismissed something that would have interested him. The castle itself consists of a towered circuit wall within which the central peak has been terraced to support a number of probably domestic structures. It is possible to identify at least three building phases. Phase one is only visible in a few short stretches of wall such as those marked A on the plan overleaf. These are constructed of unmortared shaped blocks of stone, on average 0.5 by 0.35 metres in size. The quality of this masonry

is high. More of it probably survives than is now visible because by the time phase two was constructed the first phase walls were in ruins and it seems that the new walls enclosed in their structure what remained of the earlier work. This can be seen in the section marked A* on the plan where the later work has fallen away to reveal the unmortared blocks of phase one forming the core of the phase two wall.

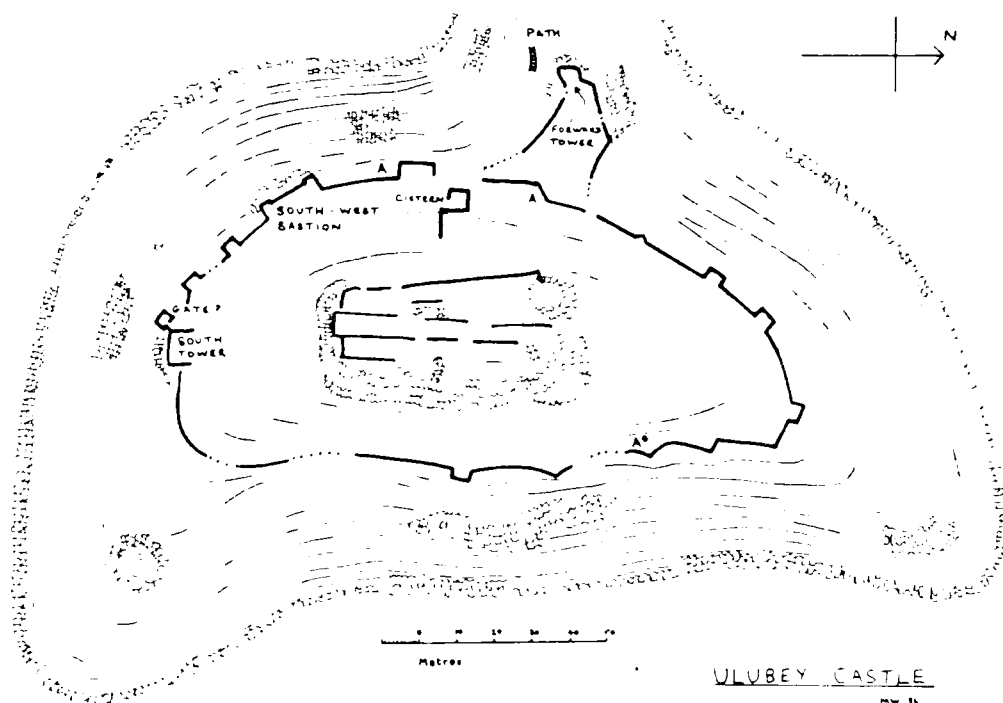


Fig. iii.

Phase two thus rested on the earlier foundations where these survived, or indeed had ever existed, but in general it appears

that by the date of their construction very little of phase one existed in situ. Phase two is built of a heavily mortared rubble fieldstone core faced with small rather neatly cut mortared local fieldstone blocks (0.25 x 0.25 metres) and spolia derived from the remains of phase one. The greater part of the surviving walls seem to be of this period and again the quality of masonry at least of the facing is high.

Phase three was one of major repair and reconstruction rather than a total rebuilding. The principal works of this phase are the large south tower and the south west bastion. Both are constructed of large spolia blocks removed from an ancient site facing a mortared rubble core. The masonry is plain but again the standard is high. On the south-west bastion there are the remains of external wooden beams set horizontal into the face of the wall. The relative dating of this phase is shown by the structure of the south tower where the phase three spolia facing encases a phase two tower which itself is constructed of a heavily mortared rubble core with a neat mortared fieldstone facing such as is characteristic of other phase two work elsewhere in the castle.

Phase three work may be more extensive than I describe since it is probably not confined to the readily identifiable high quality spolia construction. The south tower and the south west bastion built in that manner were evidently intended as highly visible prestige works. The south tower is the most

134. See supra 133f .

135. See supra 3^a .

imposing standing structure on the site and it may be part of a gate complex. In which case one would have approached the castle over the natural causeway from the west, past the forward tower - below which are the remains of a man-made path and then proceeded south parallel with the walls, passing the similarly impressive south-west bastion. The bastion itself seems to be the south-west end of a larger building of this phase. One would then have actually entered the castle through a gateway involving a steep left hand turn flanked both by the south tower and a lower tower dating from phase two. The arrangement to some extent repeats that at the Peçin kale, south of Milas,[134] but the ground at Ulubey is so eroded at this spot that it is impossible to be certain. The structures on the central peak are built, however, of coarse mortared fieldstone with no special facing which can be of almost any period. They are not particularly well preserved and could as well be part of phase three as phase two. In addition I may have overlooked more such coarse mortared work erected as repairs to the phase two circuit.

On the west side there are what appears to be the remains of a cistern of unknown date, and there is also a small scatter of pottery among the structures on the peak. Most identifiable sherds are of green glazed ware, probably 11th - 14th century Byzantine, but there are also several sherds of a more recent brown and yellow glazed ware.[135]

The history of the Ulubey castle will remain very uncertain

136. See C. H. E. HASPELS, The Highlands of Phrygia Princeton
(1971) I, 36-72; II, pls. 59, 60, 68, 77.

137. C. FOSS, Kütahya 108-17, 196-201.

as long as it has not been surveyed in detail nor placed in the context of other medieval monuments in the region. However there are a number of indications as to the date of the various phases. The unmortared walls of phase one point to a pre-medieval, probably Hellenistic or earlier period. A number of such early defensive sites are known in Phrygia.[136] Phase two is Byzantine, but within that bracket the date is open to some question.

The extensive use of mortared fieldstone means that the phase is certainly medieval. Despite the lack of brick - characteristic of many Byzantine fortifications - the masonry bears a marked similarity to that of the Byzantine castles in the Kütahya vilayet which borders that of Uşak to the north. In the Kütahya region the major period of fortress building evidently coincided with the height of the Arab threat between the 7th and 9th centuries.[137] After that date one would only expect new defensive works either on the west coast where the naval threat persisted into the 11th century, or far away on the now distant eastern frontier. The same 7th to 9th century period is likely to have seen the building of the castle at Ulubey.

The other possibilities are the later 11th and 12th century. Castle building was resumed in Phrygia in the late 1060s and early 1070s as part of the Byzantine reaction to the Turks. The reign of Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-71) saw new work at Eumeneia and Sozopolis - the latter lying just outside the

138. IDEM 'The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks' 153.
139. See supra 229.
140. C. FOSS, Kütahya 83-4.
141. IDEM, 'The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks' 145-201.
142. See supra 234.

Maeander region to the east.[138] The region was lost to the Turks in the early 1080s but the Byzantines managed to reimpose some form of control for the greater part of the following century. This control was in practice rather limited and it did not allow the earlier arable economy to recover, but one should keep in mind that the Byzantines may have attempted a great deal more. Imperial policy, as has been said before in this chapter, was to build fortresses on the plains where the nomads wished to graze their animals.[139] Manuel's reign saw the building of important fortresses at Soublaion, Dorylaion and at Kütahya.[140] A fortress at Ulubey could well have fitted in with this policy. As yet the only argument to set against this is that the castle appears to be much closer to the 7th - 9th century parallels than to any known 12th century work.[141]

The identifying characteristic of phase three masonry is the use of large spolia blocks. They are larger and whiter in colour than the stones of the phase one walls and the fact that they were not used as spolia in phase two makes it fairly certain that they were not already on site or easily accessible, but instead were specifically bought to the castle for the work on the south tower and the south west bastion. A possibility is that they came from Blaundos, 10 kilometres to the south-west, but this will need to be checked.[142]

The date of the phase three works is difficult to establish. The key feature, however, is probably the external

143. C. FOSS, Kütahya 27-8, 32, 36, 48, 51-2, 54-5.
144. See R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture in South Western Anatolia figs. 2a, 34a; M. AKOK, 'Uşak Ulu Camii' 69-72; most similar of all to the phase three masonry is that found in the numerous unpublished 18th and early 19th century rural tower houses in the lower Mederes valley. Well preserved examples can be seen at the villages of Donduran and Arpaz.
145. See J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern 289-90.
146. C. FOSS, Kütahya 84-5; the Banaz ovası as a frontier area for Germiyan influence: E. QUATREMERRE, 'Notice de l'ouvrage qui a pour titre: Mesalek Alabsar li memalek alamsar. Voyages des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées (manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque du roi)', Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi XIII (1838) 340, 351-8.
147. See F. V. J. ARUNDELL, Discoveries in Asia Minor II, 214, 223-5; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern 190-91, 289-90.

wooden beams on the outer face of the south-west bastion. There are several parallels for this in medieval and modern Turkish works,[143] and the well constructed masonry is reminiscent of that found in several of the region's mosques.[144] Fortifications in this area continued to be of military significance as late as the early 19th century.[145] Study of the most recent pottery on the site might be helpful, but at present the most likely candidates are either the Emirs of Germiyan in the 14th century[146] or the Kara osmanoğlu in the 18th.[147] Whatever the case it is certainly a mistake to presume that all 'medieval' castles in this area are pre-Ottoman, let alone Byzantine.

Ulubey castle is a much larger fortress than either the Ak kale above Homa or the site above Çardak but it was still a castle rather than a town or even a village. It could and no doubt did provide a refuge for some of the local population, but it is far too small to have provided security for any number of people and animals - let alone a permanent home. The plan above may tend to obscure this point as I have omitted the natural boulders which take up a great deal of the site.

Ulubey castle is a military work, built presumably to take advantage of a natural defensive site and to control one of the few easier crossing places of the canyon. Set there the castle commands an important secondary route across the southern part of the Banaz ovası and protects the approach to the Cayster and

Hermos valleys beyond. Phase two created a well built and strongly fortified site where the Byzantines had gone to considerable effort in its construction. Despite the possibility of a later date, the most likely context for such an effort is the defensive war against the Arabs. In such an area of strategic importance the castle would have provided the Anatolikoi with a useful 'hard point' in a system of mobile and flexible defence.

As with the other Byzantine castles in this region, Ulubey is no evidence of a change in settlement pattern before the coming of the Turks. There is a great deal more to be understood about the Upper Maeander, but here as in the rest of the region the task of understanding the Byzantine world is made no easier by the unsupported presumption of a landscape of abandoned ancient sites and a wholesale withdrawal to the hills.

Taken as a whole, the evidence presented so far in part two has suggested that the city sites in the Maeander region which had supported the prosperous civilization of the Roman period continued to be occupied as identifiable settlements through the Byzantine period up to the coming of the Turks. There are exceptions and in many cases the evidence is very slight, but the overall pattern is clear. Other evidence from elsewhere in the Byzantine world suggests that the experience of the Maeander was not unique. In the Pontos ancient cities such as Trebizond and Sinop continued to be occupied as

148. A. BRYER, D. WINFIELD, The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos 70-72, 75-6, 93, 180-83.
149. J. L. BINTLIFF, A. M. SNODGRASS, 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boetian Expedition: the First Four Years' Journal of Field Archaeology XII (1985) 149.
150. THEODORE DUCAS LASCARIS, Epistulae CCXVII ed. N. Festa, Florence (1898) 108.

major settlements;[148] even in Greece - afflicted by the chronic insecurity of the Slav invasions - the recent work of the Boeotia survey project has revealed the Byzantine population staying put on ancient city sites until the 12th century or later.[149]

This is not to question the basic assertion that the 7th century had been a period of dramatic change which had overturned much of the urban culture characteristic of the Roman world. The survival of a settlement on the site of an ancient city does not imply the survival of the culture which that city had once embodied. Byzantine culture was of course very different from its Roman predecessor, but however one tries to describe it, the roots of Byzantium lay in the Roman Empire in all its Christian, Imperial and other aspects. In the 13th century Theodore Laskaris compared the dwellings of the inhabitants of contemporary Pergamon to mouseholes in the houses of the ancients.[150] Even if one wishes to extend this comparison to Byzantine culture in general, it still demands the overwhelming presence of the Roman heritage in Byzantine life. The network of middle Byzantine towns in the Maeander region, even if they did no more than occupy ancient sites, were an inheritance from the past. The very pattern of settlement was bequeathed by the ancient world.

The importance or otherwise of the bare fact of the survival of the basic settlement pattern depends on the place of

the middle Byzantine town in provincial society. I shall discuss the role of the towns, their population and physical environment in chapter four, but to give that discussion any significance the town must first be placed in the wider context of the society of the medieval Maeander region. In particular to judge whether the settlements described in this chapter were local centres of any importance they must first be seen as part of an interlocking world of central and local elites, political power, administration and landowning.

1. See R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 307-21.
2. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137; PAUL OF LATROS 109.
3. In the late 11th century Latros was exposed to the attacks of the Turks, which led over the following 200 years to the building of an extensive network of fortifications, see MM VI, 61-2; T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 18-86; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 8-24.

CHAPTER SIX: The Middle Byzantine Town in the Maeander
 Region.

The previous chapters have assembled the evidence to show that the late Roman city sites of the Maeander region continued to be occupied through the 7th to 11th centuries. It appears only to have been in the 12th and 13th centuries in response to the Turkish threat and under the different social and political conditions of those centuries that ancient sites were abandoned in favour of those with more impressive natural defences.

It is easy to see that one of the major incentives in favour of continuity on all sites must have been the protection offered by the city walls. The variation in size and development among the late Roman cities of the Maeander was so great that none can be regarded as typical,[1] yet they all had in common serviceable circuits of walls. The view that a population could find safety through flight to the hills seems to be an illusion. As the monks of Latros discovered, Arab raiders were quite capable of penetrating even the most forbidding mountains of western Asia Minor.[2] Effective security demanded fortifications and there is no evidence of a network of fortified mountain refuge sites in any part of the Maeander region at least before the 12th or 13th century.[3] Retreat to the mountains had other disadvantages. It only offered protection to moveable property such as animals, it needed considerable advanced warning

4. See G. T. DENNIS, Three Byzantine Military Treatises 152.
5. See e.g. supra 192 : the citizens of Laodicea on the Lykos seem to have defended their walls where possible but abandoned the site at the approach of a large army; the necessity of fortifications in the face of raiders is illustrated by the Austrian experience during the Turkish invasion of 1683, see J. STÖYE, The Siege of Vienna London (1964) 174-7; there is an interesting contemporary painting at Lilienfeld in lower Austria showing the Turkish raiders in 1683 deterred by even the slight walls of this Cistercian monastery.
6. See S. FAROQHI, Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia Cambridge (1984) 252, 272-5; W. J. GRISWOLD, The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611 Berlin (1983) 49-50, 212-3.

and involved abandoning house, garden and fields to the enemy.

Under some circumstances, and in some areas such as Anatolia where cities had never been common, the population might have no option,[4] but if the enemy was only a small raiding party then a settlement within an ancient circuit of walls offered certain advantages. The walls might not be manned to deter a raiding party;[5] they would protect not only the lives of the inhabitants and their livestock, but also their churches, houses and possibly most important gardens. Agricultural land inside the walls would be at least one stock of food denied to the enemy.

Contrary to a common misapprehension it is not the towns but the dispersed rural settlements which are at most risk in the face of enemy raiding. In this same region in the 17th century it was rural settlement which collapsed during the period of chronic rebellion and unrest begun by the Çelali revolts. The towns suffered too, but by comparison to the villages and farms they appeared secure and prosperous havens and their population grew. Conditions in the 7th and 17th century may not be strictly comparable but one would certainly not expect the development of a more dispersed pattern of settlement in a period of chronic insecurity.[6]

As we have seen in the previous chapters, in view of the deficient archaeological and documentary evidence, it may be a

7. See supra 38f .
8. See C. MANGO, Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome 45-59, 68-82; IDEM, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XI siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', TM VI (1976) 351-65; J. DARROUZES, 'Le mouvement des foundations monastiques au XI siècle', ibid. 159-76.
9. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 116-31; IDEM, 'Archaeology and the Twenty Cities' 469-86.

mistake to underestimate the scale of settlement on ancient sites in the early Byzantine period.[7] To put the case at its most simple: the population is unlikely to have spread over the open countryside; they did not move on to new sites in the mountains; they did not vanish. They must have lived somewhere.

Whether in the 7th to 9th century these settlements were towns or not one cannot say. In the future field surveying or properly carried out excavation may transform the picture but as yet there is not the evidence available. Its absence proves little in itself. Absence of evidence is merely absence of evidence.

Whatever the status of these settlements, there is no doubt that over the Empire as a whole and in nearly all its social and economic activities the 7th to 9th centuries were a period of decline and recession, which from the late 9th or 10th century turned to growth and development. In the Maeander region as elsewhere in the Empire Turkish invasions came upon a society that was wealthier and more developed than it had been at any time since the beginning of the 7th century.[8]

A great deal of evidence for greater prosperity comes from the ancient city sites of the Maeander region,[9] and it is important to question whether this shows development of these sites in particular or whether instead there was a general rural prosperity which would be demonstrated if we were to dig

10. See infra 266f.
11. NIKEPHORS BRYENNIOΣ 301; for Melissenos see G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/1, 88-9 nr. 99-100; I/3, 1480-86, nrs. 2697-9.
12. See supra 35f.

somewhere else. The importance of the ancient sites may be a distortion imposed by the choice of classical archaeologists to dig the ancient cities in the first place. To take the distinction further, can the ancient sites of the Maeander region on the eve of the Turkish invasion be recognized as towns with an identifiable role in the region's social and political structure, or was this part of Asia Minor simply a village society where power was exercised in a wholly rural environment?

Since there has been no rural archaeology in western Asia Minor, part of the answer to this question involves the historical and documentary material examined in part three,[10] but the evidence of the sites themselves has also to be taken into account.

A prime facie case for active and self-conscious towns in the Maeander region could be made on the basis of Nikephoros Bryennios' account of Nikephoros Melissenos' rebellion in 1080.[11] In that year Melissenos, an important aristocrat and general, left Kos, where he had probably been exiled by the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, and crossed to western Asia Minor. There he raised an army of Turks and Byzantines, and was proclaimed Emperor. Then, by Nikephoros Bryennios' account, he made a tour of the cities of Asia (tas tēs Asias poleis). The phrase recalls Constantine Porphyrogenitos' list of the twenty cities of Asia,[12] but it probably has no more in common than a term of literature for the cities of the Thrakesion. In any case

13. NIKEPHORSO BRYENNIOS 301, 11. 6-10.
14. For the association between the Emperor and provincial towns, see P. MAGDALINO, R. NELSON, 'The Emperor in Byzantine art of the 12th century', Byzantine Forschungen VIII (1982) 132-5.
15. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 24-31.

most of these cities must have lain in the Maeander region.

Nikephoros Bryennios then goes on to say,

"The citizens (politai) submitted to him and surrendered their cities (poleis) as if he were Emperor of the Romans. He in turn against their will handed them over to the Turks, so that by this means in a short time all the cities of Asia, Phrygia and Galatia passed under the authority of the Turks." [13]

The episode apparently reveals an unexpected importance for the Maeander region towns. It suggests that they were normally able to defend themselves, and that in submitting and recognizing the Emperor they reveal some form of corporate identity. [14] It is striking that Melissenos' first act as newly proclaimed Emperor was to go on a tour of the region's towns. Nikephoros Bryennios clearly implies that the handing over of these poleis to the Turks was a decisive step in the loss of western Asia Minor to the Turks.

This account of a sensitive period in the history of the ruling dynasty was written about fifty years after the events and the details of Melissenos' rebellion are no doubt obscured by Nikephoros Bryennios' own prejudices and interests. [15] However there is no reason to reject the essentials of the account as regards the role of the towns.

Yet the account still presents difficulties. It would have been of greater importance for the history of the Maeander

16. C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor; IDEM, Ephesus after Antiquity; IDEM, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis; A. KAZDAN, 'Vizantiiskie goroda v VII-IX vekach', Sovetskaia Arkheologiia XXI (1954) 164-88; IDEM, Derevnia i gorod v Vizantii IX-XVV Moscow (1960).
17. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the Twenty Cities' 472-5, 481-2.
18. M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City', Byzantinische Forschungen C (1985) 13; IDEM, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 63-5.
19. J.-C. CHEYNET, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206' in Philadelphie et autres études 39.
20. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 131-6.

towns if Nikephoros Bryennios had been specific about which places Melissenos visited and handed over to the Turks. Following the seminal work of Foss and Kazdan,[16] the current impression of the middle Byzantine town, especially in Asia Minor, is rather gloomy. It would probably be granted that Ephesos and Smyrna should be called towns in the 11th century,[17] and they could well have played an autonomous role in the events of 1080. But otherwise Asia Minor in general, including the Maeander region, is regarded as an overwhelmingly rural society.[18] The settlements on ancient sites may have had some of the characteristics of a town - defences, a bishop, possibly a market - but otherwise they were really no more than villagers[19] and Melissenos certainly did not go on a tour of these.

Faced with a paucity of evidence, so much of the negative impression of the smaller and less well known sites away from Ephesos and Smyrna depends on a belief in their very primitive and underdeveloped physical appearance. Still in the early 1070s the available evidence for the appearance of even the largest Byzantine towns in the region seemed to show that despite the relative prosperity from the 10th century onwards, the urban environment - if it could be so called - was primitive and underdeveloped.[20] It followed that if even the most important coastal cities were so unurban, then the smaller inland sites must have been no more than villages.

21. E. BOEHRINGER, F. KRAUS, Das Temenos für den Herrschurkult Berlin (1937) 58-9; P. SCHAUMANN, Das Gymnasium Berlin (1923) 43-4; W. DORPFELD, Athener Mitteilungen XXIX (1904) 19, 203-4; XXXV (1910) 369, 379.
22. See supra 72-3
23. R. BOHN, Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Berlin (1885) 88-91; A. CONZE, Stadt und Landschaft Berlin (1912) 309-18.

In view of the history of archaeology in the Maeander region over the past century the only useful evidence for the physical appearance of a Byzantine town comes from Pergamon, lying just outside the Maeander region to the north. Even before the first world war the German excavators had made some attempt to record the Byzantine remains. The settlement set mostly on the sides of the hills, known as the middle and lower town, was dated by associated coin finds and glazed pottery to the 11th to 14th centuries. The houses consisted of smaller irregular rooms with several later additions all built of poor quality rubble and fieldstone held together with mud. Water was provided from several small cisterns and a number of storage jars were also found. Despite the apparent fire risk there was a pottery set among the houses.[21]

Apart from the defences, partly derived from the late 7th century when Pergamon had been an Imperial fortress,[22] the only larger buildings known were two churches and a chapel built on the acropolis itself, and another church in the lower city. The older of the acropolis churches was on the site of the ancient temple of Athena. It was a very simple building, about 15 by 5 metres, consisting of a single nave and apse, constructed of spolia and field-stone rubble. There were no coins found to date the building but the surviving architectural carving suggested a date in the 10th or 11th century.[23] The second church, dated to the 12th century, again on the basis of the architectural carving, was originally a similar if slightly smaller building of

24. R. BOHN, Die Theater-Terrasse Berlin (1896) 73-4; A. CONZE, op.cit. 309-18.
25. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the Twenty Cities', 479-81; IDEM; IDEM, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 272-6; Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXVII ed. N. Festa, Florence (1898) 107-8.
26. W. RADT, 'Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon' in Wohnungsbau im Altertum Diskussion zur archäologischen Bauforschung 3, Berlin (1979) 199-206; IDEM, Archäologischer Anzeiger LXXXIX (1974) 278; XCIII (1978) 407, 409-12.
27. ibid. C (1985) 472, 474, 476-80; XCI (1976) 305-9.

the same primitive construction. Later a narthex and two side chapels were added, and there were also fragments of a wall painting dated to the first half of the 12th century. The chapel, lying a little further down the hill, cut into the rock of the lowest terrace was probably a funerary chapel associated with the second church. The remains of the other church, built to replace the much larger late Roman basilica were very fragmentary and could not be dated.[24]

The overall impression is of a few workshops, potteries and churches, set amidst a complex of small and primitive houses. There was no street plan and the effect was of a crowded maze, accessible only by winding alleyways which as in the old quarters of some Turkish towns and villages were as much private as public space. The archaeological evidence appeared to show a village environment which fully justified Theodore Laskaris' famous comparison of Byzantine dwellings amidst ancient ruins to mouseholes within a house of his own day.[25]

Since the mid 1970s major advances in the archaeology of Pergamon have transformed our understanding of the site. On the citadel area Byzantine housing of the 12th to 14th centuries has been uncovered and planned.[26] The housing seems to fall into three phases and certainly some of the structures, especially of the later phase when it appears that refugees from the surrounding countryside were crammed into the area behind the walls, fit the description given above.[27] However more

28. IDEM, 'Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon' 206-17; IDEM, Archäologischer Anzeiger XC (1975) 356; XCI (1976) 305-9; XCII (1977) 297-302; XCIV (1979) 309, 312-15, figs. 1, 3; XCV (1980) 401-5; C (1985) 476-80.
29. C. BOURAS, 'City and Village: Urban design and Architecture', JÖB XXXI (1981) 635-6, 638-42, 644-5.

striking is the evidence for larger houses which include well built rooms and show evidence of deliberate planning. Previous structures had been cleared away from the site and foundation trenches dug in the tufa of which the hill is made. A common type of house included residential quarters surrounding a small courtyard containing a well set back from the street. One house in particular, a rather larger complex than the others, including a workshop and storage rooms as well as extensive dwelling quarters, had been planned so as to use the street frontage for shops.[28]

The complexity and sophistication of these houses should not be exaggerated, but equally it must be remembered that they are set on a cramped and difficult site, and throughout much of the period security was a problem. Historians have so far tended to underestimate this material. Bouras, in a useful survey of the physical appearance of Byzantine towns, only drew attention to the way agricultural and industrial facilities were mixed up with residential quarters, the very small scale of the churches and the lack of other public buildings, and the absence of a street plan. Bouras concluded that this was evidence for the underdeveloped nature of Byzantine towns.[29]

All the aspects that Bouras noted certainly are features of the site, but in fact they have no bearing on whether Pergamon was a developed town or not. In the first place the fact that workshops, houses and farmyards were found mixed together in the

30. M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City' 15-16; J. HASLAM, Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England Chichester (1984) XV.
31. C. MANGO, Byzantine Architecture 194-251; IDEM, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XIe siècle' 351-65.
32. T. HASSALL, 'Archaeology of Oxford City' in The Archaeology of the Oxford Region ed. G. Briggs, J. Cook, T. Rowley, Oxford (1986) 118-32; the position of Winchester is obviously complicated by the presence of the cathedral, built on a scale to which there is no contemporary Byzantine parallel, but the other city churches are very similar to those at Pergamon, Winchester in the Early Middle Ages ed. M. Biddle, Oxford (1976) 329-35.
33. H. E. SALTER, Medieval Oxford Oxford (1936) 42, 51; see also Winchester in the Early Middle Ages 335-6.

middle of a town should cause no surprise. This was a feature of most ancient and medieval towns, and was common up to the 18th century. The fact that a town was so closely linked to the countryside does not make it any the less urban according to the definition of the middle ages.[30]

Secondly, one should note that small churches were a characteristic of Byzantine civilization in the middle ages,[31] but possibly more important, in most parts of Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries city churches were equally small and simple. At Oxford, for example, which was without doubt a town at this period, all the city churches, as opposed to the great monasteries which had nothing to do with Oxford's urban life were on an équally small scale to those at Pergamon. The only part of one of them to survive later rebuilding is the tower of St. Michael's at the north gate which was not a church tower but part of the city defences later included in the church.[32] Similarly Oxford had no secular public buildings other than a guildhall which was only a tenement house indistinguishable from any other rather primitive house in the town. Any larger gathering, such as that which elected the mayor, spilled over the street and into St. Martin's churchyard beyond.[33] At neither Oxford nor Pergamon would the early medieval inhabitants have had a use for public buildings on the ancient model. Their absence at Pergamon reflects very little on the quality of its urban life.

In the third feature to which Bouras drew attention - not having a formal street plan Pergamon was evidently different

34. R. E. WYCHERLEY, How the Greeks built Cities 2nd Edn., London (1962) 15-35.
35. B. WARD-PERKINS, From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages Oxford (1984) 179-86.
36. M. BIDDLE, 'Towns' in The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England ed. D. M. Wilson, Cambridge (1976) 125; M. W. BERESFORD, New Towns of the Middle Ages London (1967) passim; T. HALL, Mittelalterliche Stadtgrundrisse. Versuch einer Übersicht der Entwicklung in Deutschland und Frankreich Stockholm (1978) 110-42.
37. D. CLAUDE, Die byzantinische Stadt 44-60; H. KENNEDY, 'From polis to medina: Urban change from late Antique to early Islamic Syria', PP CVI (1985) 11-18; A. A. M. BRYER, 'The structure of the late Byzantine Town: diokismos and the mesoi' in Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society 263-8.
38. On the definition of a town see D. HILL, 'The Saxon period' in Urban Archaeology in Britain ed. J. Schofield, R. Leech, CBA Research Report 61, London (1987) 47-8; M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City' 15-18.
39. ANNA COMNENA III, 154-5; NIKETAS CHONIATES 150; SKYLITZES 394-5 (bishop resident at Pergamon).
40. M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City' 15-18; IDEM, 'Archons and dynasts' 236-41; see infra
41. Winchester in the Early Middle Ages 337-48, M. D. H. CARVER, 'Three Saxo-Norman Tenements in Durham City', Medieval Archaeology XXIII (1979) 9-11, 67-72; W. A. PANTIN, 'The Halls and Schools of Medieval Oxford: an Attempt at Reconstruction' in Oxford Studies presented to Daniel Callus Oxford (1964) 38-41. •

from most ancient cities in the region,[34] from several contemporary Italian towns[35] and from some planned towns laid out in the 9th to 12th century West.[36] However this distinction is of limited significance. The street plans of many prosperous and thriving cities were already being eroded through the late Roman period. The disappearance of the formal street plan and the monumental public buildings which are both so characteristic of ancient cities is evidence of a major cultural change in the late Roman world, but there are many other types of urban environment developed forms of town without these features.[37]

Pergamon was plainly a town. It had walls, was a centre of population, a significant proportion of its inhabitants were involved in activities apart from farming, a market can probably be presumed.[38] There was a bishop and it was known as a polis, clearly marking it apart from a village which would have been known as a chorion. [39] We know elsewhere of relatively important figures in the local elite living in towns, and the excavated houses at Pergamon would have provided appropriate accomodation.[40] Outside the cramped citadel, houses could well have been bigger, and even those excavated bear comparison with tenements occupied by quite distinguished figures in contemporary English towns.[41]

The recently excavated housing at Pergamon dates from the 12th to the 14th century. The 11th century town is likely to

- 42. W. RADT, Archäologischer Anzeiger XCVII (1981) 399-401, 408-9.
- 43. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 81-3; see supra
- 44. BASOR CLVI (1962) 39-40; CLXX (1963) 33-5; CCXV (1974) 33; H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 98, 127; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 75-6.
- 45. IDEM, Ephesus after Antiquity 132-7.
- 46. See supra 138-9 , n. 211.
- 47. See infra 261.
- 48. See supra 146f
- 49. See S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society London (1967-83) I, 1-28.

have been at the foot of the hill where settlement returned after the Turkish conquest in the 14th century.[42] However there is no reason to think that the 11th century town was of very different appearance. Perhaps under less threat the houses were possibly larger. It is therefore valid to use Pergamon as a model for the other towns in the region.

This presents some difficulties because apart from the acropolis at Sardis which was crammed with refugee housing in the last years of Byzantine Asia Minor,[43] not a single plan of a Byzantine house has yet been produced for the Maeander region. However, what has been found at Sardis,[44] Ephesos,[45] Iasos[46] and Aphrodisias,[47] appears to be very similar to that described at Pergamon. In the past, when Pergamon appeared such a dismal site, this evidence could be integrated with that from Pergamon to suggest a general picture of underdevelopment; but in fact it fits equally well with the new evidence to support a case for a more sophisticated urban structure in the Maeander region.

The best evidence for urban life of this type comes from Mastaura[48] and is documentary rather than archaeological. A Jewish marriage contract or ketubba drawn up in 1022, and preserved in the Cairo Geniza,[49] describes a house at Mastaura which is clearly a courtyard house of the type found at Pergamon. The ketubba's description shows that it was a two storey building with a well in the courtyard. Half the well belonged to the

50. J. MANN, The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs Oxford (1920-22) II, 94; J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire Athens (1939) 188; see also T. REINACH, 'Un contrat du mariage du temps de Basile le bulgaroctone', Mélanges offerts a M. Gustave Schlumberger, Paris (1924) 118-32.
51. J. MANN, The Jews in Egypt I, 87-9, 92; II, 92; J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 194-5; S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society I, 328-32; II, 96, 137-8.
52. J. STARR, op.cit. 187-90; the Cairo Geniza has preserved extensive evidence for emigration to and from Byzantium at this period: S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society I, 39, 49, 53, 63; II, 50, 70, 157, 242, 300, 304, 306; III, 48, 63, 114, 177, 200, 210, 229, 302; IV, 114.

bride's brother, Caleb. The fact that he was specifically allowed access suggests that as in some examples from Pergamon, the house faced on to the street with a passage leading through to the courtyard behind.[50]

The occupants appear to have been a family of modest Jewish traders. The link between Mastaura and Egypt had been forged in the early 11th century by two Mastauran Jews, Leo and Elijah, who had been captured by Arab pirates and taken to Alexandria to be sold as slaves. There they were fortunate to be ransomed by the local Jewish community who had a good reputation for such acts of charity. However the paying of ransoms had become a considerable burden to the Jews of this maritime city and where possible they would wish to make the freed captives contribute toward the cost of their deliverance. Thus in this case Elijah was kept in Alexandria while Leo was sent back to Mastaura to find money to repay the Alexandrian Jews.[51]

This incident appears to have been the beginning of good relations between the Jews of Mastaura and those of Alexandria, and shortly afterwards two more Jews from Mastaura, Namr b. Elqanah and his wife, Eudokia b. Caleb, emigrated to Egypt taking with them their moveable possessions and important documents, including their marriage contract - hence its presence in the Cairo Geniza.[52]

Neither the ketubba nor the letter which describes the

53. SKYLITZES 373, 385-6, 389, 396, 398; KEKAUMENOS 34; Lavra I, 124-5; W. FELIX, Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert Vienna (1981) 185-6, 202-4.
54. S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society I, 45, 46, 103, 211, 301, 328: the Geniza evidence presents difficulties because its frequent unspecific references to Rūm could just as well be to Italians as Byzantines.
55. F. H. VAN DOORNINCK JR., 'An 11th century shipwreck at Serçe Liman. Turkey 1978-81' International Journal of Natural Archaeology XI (1982) 7-11.
56. S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society III, 65-114.

activities of Leo and Elijah specifically says that they were traders, but the link between Mastaura and Egypt is difficult to explain if this had not been the case. Arab raids along the coast of western Asia Minor and throughout the Aegean seem to have been common in the early 11th century, but there is nothing to suggest that they penetrated far inland.[53] The whole episode also implies a certain cosmopolitan experience among the Mastauran Jews which is not compatible with their being merely peasant farmers. Trade between Byzantium and Egypt certainly existed at this period,[54] the best evidence being the wreck of an Egyptian ship which went down off the Carian coast in 1024/5 at Serçe Liman.[55]

It is not easy to assess the wealth and social position of Namr and Eudokia because this document is the only middle Byzantine ketubba to survive. Over 350 ketubbas of the 11th to 13th century are known from Egypt but they are not strictly comparable. Apart from the social and economic gulf which separated the world of the Jewish community in Mastaura, an obscure settlement in inland Asia Minor, from that of Cairo and Alexandria, two of the wealthiest cities of the 11th century mediterranean, the documents themselves are not drawn up according to the same rules. Those from Egypt follow local custom, whereas the Mastaura ketubba seems to be based on the rather different custom of Palestine.[56]

Nonetheless all medieval ketubbas do have certain basic

57. ibid. III, 70, 104-7, 118-35; J. Z. LAUTERBACH, 'Ketubah' The Jewish Encyclopedia VII, London (1904) 472-8.
58. J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 188.
59. S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society III, 118-39; IV, 310-17.
60. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 222-3; see infra 488 9
61. N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XI siècle', TM VI (1976) 50-55; M. KAPLAN, 'L'économie paysanne dans l'empire byzantin du V^{ème} au X^{ème} siècle', Klio LXVIII (1986) 205-32.

features in common. They were divided into three parts. The first recorded the initial marriage gift paid by the husband as the price for his wife's virginity. The second gave the main marriage gift, which was a much larger sum paid by the groom on the day of the wedding and usually made up, as here, of items such as clothing or jewellery. The third part was the dowry. In addition it was common for a house, or part of a house, to be given by the bride's family to the young couple. Together these sums made up the capital on which the couple would set up home.[57]

The Mastaura ketubba gives a total figure, which includes coin and the value of certain items, of $35\frac{1}{2}$ nomismata.[58] In terms of the Egyptian ketubbas this sum would place Nasr and Eudokia among the poorer members of the Jewish community, but even in Alexandria or Cairo they would not have been among the destitute.[59]

In the Byzantine context one may remember that cavalry soldiers in the theme army were expected to own land worth at least four pounds of gold (288 nomismata), which if it were given over to cereals should have produced an annual income of about 80 nomismata;[60] the annual income of a peasant farmer, depending on whether he owned or rented his land, seems to have ranged from under 5 nomismata to about 25 nomismata per annum.[61]

The ketubba does not mention other members of Namr's family

62. J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 187-90;
T. REINACH, 'Un contrat de mariage' 118-32.
63. G. F. BASS, G. GOLONU, 'Excavations at Serçe Liman
(1977) A Cargo of Eleventh Century Glass', TAD XXV/2
(1981) 49-54, figs. 1-24.
64. Amongst other things Asia Minor seems to have been
an exporter of cheese: S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean
Society I, 46.
65. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/3,
1169, nr. 2105.
66. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum' PG XCIX, 289-92; see
infra 472.
67. See supra 146f.

and there may have been other property he could expect to inherit. The items of clothing and jewellery show no great wealth but they are quite compatible with a modest prosperity.[62] On the face of it Namr and Eudokia's possessions suggest a family of small traders making a satisfactory living but no large fortune. The Serçe Liman ship was principally trading in raw glass and small glass vessels.[63] It demonstrates that some at least of the Egyptian trade was in relatively inexpensive items.[64] Such a commercial background would fit well the available evidence for the Mastaura Jews who inhabited one of the courtyard houses.

The documents from Mastaura are of great significance for the history of Byzantine towns in the Maeander region. The courtyard house parallels structures excavated at Pergamon, and the presence of a trading community suggests that Mastaura was a market. An 8th century seal of a dioiketes of Mastaura also survives,[65] and the 9th century Life of St. Theodore the Studite calls Mastaura a polis and describes its bishop and clergy.[66] Mastaura can confidently be regarded as a town in the middle Byzantine period.

There is almost no archaeological evidence for Mastaura in the middle ages. Were it not for the remarkable documentary evidence it would have been quite reasonable to presume that the site was deserted. Nothing else would have suggested that it supported a small town.[67] If this is so of small and obscure

68. K. ERİM, AS XIV (1964) 27-8; TAD XVI (1967) 70; ibid. XVII/1 (1968) 43-5, 46-7; ibid. XX/1 (1973) 64-5; AS XXII (1972) 39; TAD XXII/2 (9175) 77; AS XXXIV (1985) 177-8; ibid. XXXV (1986) 178.
69. IDEM, AS XIV (1964) 27; ibid. XVI (1966) 36; TAD XV/1 (1965) 59-60; AS XVIII (1968) 34-5.

Mastaura then there is a strong likelihood that several other sites region risk being seriously underestimated.

In the future the best evidence for a detailed picture of a Byzantine provincial town in the Maeander region between the 7th and 12th centuries should come from Aphrodisias, Byzantine Stauropolis. However from a Byzantine historian's point of view progress so far has been disappointing. After twenty-five years work there is still no published plan of any of the Byzantine housing; we still have very little idea of the shape of the Byzantine town and still less of its development over time. Nonetheless what has been discovered does fit a picture of a quite developed urban structure.

In several parts of the site quarters of densely packed houses and workshops have been found, of simple construction, set without any apparent formal plan around small churches and graveyards.[68] As at Pergamon under detailed study this housing may turn out to be more sophisticated than it now appears from initial reports. In addition a large late Roman house near the church of St. Michael (the former temple of Aphrodite) continued to be occupied through to the 12th century. The building is usually identified as the bishop's palace but the evidence is no more than a stray episcopal seal found in its ruins.[69] The possibility that it was a lay household should not be disregarded. According to his Life St. Philaretos the merciful seems to have lived in just such a late Roman house in later 8th century

70. M.-H. FOURMY, M. LEROY, 'La vie de S. Philarète',
B IX (1934).
71. R. CORMACK, 'The Byzantine provincial city' in Byzantium
and the Classical Tradition 107-16; W. H. BUCKLER,
'A momento of Stauropolis' BZ XXVIII (1928) 98-101:
the cross is now in the Ashmolean museum, 1952.
437.
72. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/2,
991, nr. 1732; J. W. NESBITT, 'Byzantine lead seals
from Aphrodisias', DOP XXXVII (1983) 159-64.
73. See supra 155 f.
74. K. ERIM, AS XXVI (1976) 24-5.
75. R. CORMACK, 'The Byzantine provincial city' 116.

Paphlagonia.[70] At least two, possibly three, late Roman churches were also in use in the 11th century; one or two are known to have been added in the middle Byzantine period.[71] The provision for churches exceeds the number appropriate for even the largest village. Together with the presence of a number of lead seals, including that of the dioiketes of Stauropolis and other central and local officials, the evidence shows Aphrodisias to have been an active provincial town.[72]

As was noted above in chapter four, the theatre at Aphrodisias was not converted into a fortress until the 12th century.[73] The settlement which survived during the 7th to 9th century and grew over the following period did so using the ancient circuit of walls for protection. Byzantine repairs to the circuit seem to have been identified.[74] However it seems unlikely that at any period the entire area within the walls was occupied by the dense settlement. A large part of the site was taken up by the sometimes dangerous ruins of ancient public buildings, but even the rest was probably only partially occupied. Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias is likely to have considered of several areas of settlement focused on such key points as the church of St. Michael or the theatre hill, leaving much of the rest of the space inside the walls available for agriculture and pasture.

A settlement pattern of this type is well documented in Byzantium. Constantinople in its 12th century heyday included

76. See A. A. M. BRYER, 'The structure of the late Byzantine town' 268-74.
77. E.g. Laodicea on the Lykos: see supra 189 f.

extensive fields, and the same was characteristic of many late Byzantine towns from Trebizond to Greece.[76] It is almost certainly true of the middle Byzantine towns of the Maeander region. This pattern would explain how it is possible for an excavation in the middle of a Byzantine city which is known to have been occupied to miss all trace of Byzantine remains.[77] In view of the large circuits of ancient walls and the need at least in the early Byzantine period for security, this pattern of settlement would have been an attractive use of the space available.

The combination of evidence from Pergamon, Mastaura and Aphrodisias creates a much more developed picture of the Byzantine town in the Maeander region than is generally allowed. Many of the sites to the 12th century were no doubt very minor places but the example of Mastaura should warn against easy judgements.

Clearly several more places than Ephesos and Smyrna would have been worthy of Nikephoros Melissenos' attention in 1080, but a list, let alone a ranking of these sites, demands too much of the evidence. In addition to Ephesos, Smyrna, Aphrodisias and Mastaura, Miletos, Laodicea, Philadelphia, Chonai, Sardis and Hypaipa should certainly be included.

Miletos is justified by the seal of a dioiketes and the references in the Life of St. Paul of Latros; Laodicea and

- 78. See supra 87-8, 183-4.
- 79. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 24-31.
- 80. ibid. 301.
- 81. See C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 72-96.

Philadelphia are known to have been active settlements in the 1090s during the Byzantine reconquest; Hypaipa and Sardis were both seats of a dioiketes, and Chonai was a cult centre of St. Michael.[78]

Beyond these the urban network of the Maeander region is utterly obscure and any suggestion would be no more than a guess. However the silence about places such as Tralles, Tripolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, Hierapolis or many others, is not evidence that they were no more than villages.

Nikephoros Bryennios, who although he wrote 50 years after the event was a well informed and experienced general who had campaigned in Asia Minor,[79] considered the surrender of the cities of Asia, Phrygia and Galatia to have been a decisive step in the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks.[80] The surrender of one or two cities would still have left most of the region in Byzantine hands; the abandonment of a widespread network of fortified towns would have had just the disastrous consequences that subsequent events demonstrate.[81]

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If, as has been suggested here, Nikephoros Melissenos appealed to a number of towns in the Maeander region in 1080 this is an important insight into provincial society on the eve of the Turkish invasions. It implies that power and authority in the Maeander region centred on the towns, and from that it follows that the results of urban archaeology on classical sites are not

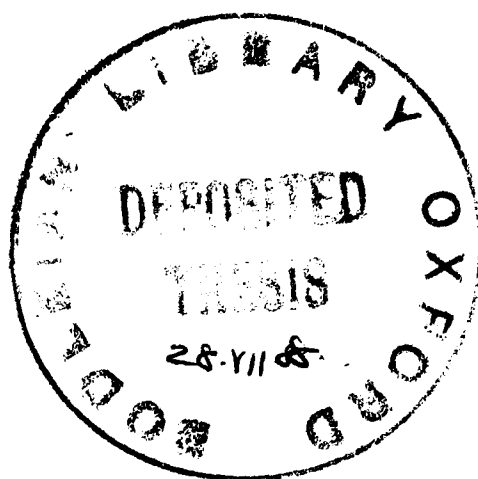
merely providing an economic background to events, but instead from essential and central evidence from the region's social and political structure.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE MAEANDER
REGION OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR ON THE EVE OF THE
TURKISH INVASION

by

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PART THREE

Elites and Society

1. See supra 2 - 10.
2. See G. OSTROGORSKY, History of the Byzantine State 95 -8; W. E. KAEGI, 'Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh to Ninth Centuries)', JÖB XVI (1967) 39 - 53; A. PERTUSI, 'La formation des thèmes byzantines' Berichte zum XI. International Byzantisten - Kongress, Munich (1958) I, 1 - 40; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung Munich (1959) passim; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'Les premières mentions des thèmes dans la chronique de Théophane' Zbornik Radova Vizantinoloskog Instituta XVI (1975) 1 - 8; R - J. LILIE, Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber 287 - 338; J. F. HALDON, Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c. 550 - 950, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil. - Hist. klasse, Sitzungsberichte 357, Vienna (1979) 28 - 40. More could be added to this list.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Themes and Boundaries.

The Maeander region was defined in chapter one as including the great river valleys of the Maeander, the Cayster and the Hermos, together with their adjacent mountains, so as to be bordered to the east by the Ak dağ, to the west by the sea, to the north by the limestone mountains and open plain beyond the Hermos and to the south by the watershed which marks the limits of the Maeander drainage system.[1] On the eve of the Turkish invasions this area was divided between the themata - themes or provinces - of the Thrakesioi, the Anatolikoi, Samos and the Kibyrrhaiotai.

The oldest themes date back to the 7th century, a period of dramatic changes but of very few and obscure surviving sources. Consequently the origin of this important Byzantine institution has produced a lively and lengthy controversy.[2] If, however, one avoids contentious details the main points are in fact quite clear. The Roman Empire ruled over by Constantine and Justinian was destroyed by a combination of powerful enemies who successively assaulted the Empire in the 7th century. The vital heartland of the late Roman Empire before this crisis lay in the eastern provinces. The key areas were Constantinople, western Asia Minor, Syria and most important of all, Egypt. The rest of the Empire, including the Balkans and eastern Anatolia, was probably a net loss to the Empire's budget. The Empire depended on a large well equipped army paid for by taxation raised and

3. See M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 613 - 20; F. M. DONNER, The Early Islamic Conquests Princeton (1981) 99 - 101 et passim.

dispensed by a sophisticated bureaucracy. In the early 7th century war broke out with the rival Persian Empire. Persian victories led to the abandonment of the Balkans to the Avars and to a twenty five year loss of the vital eastern provinces. The final Roman victory in 628 was the result of a long and debilitating struggle. It was also only temporary. Within ten years the Islamic revolution had united the desert tribes and set them to conquer the Near East. The Roman defences had hardly been reestablished after the Great Persian War and the Empire's control over the east rapidly collapsed.[3]

The Imperial government of these years faced a desperate and chronic crisis. Its very survival depended on keeping the army in the field, yet the rump of an Empire confined to western and central Asia Minor and little more had no longer the necessary fiscal base to support it. With hindsight, and I think it is reasonable to suppose this was true at the time, it is quite plain that the only long term solution was to base the Roman army on the land - land in Asia Minor being the only considerable resource still available to the Imperial government. It is open to question how long the Imperial authorities managed to struggle on with the existing late Roman system of an army paid in cash out of the proceeds of taxation; it is also possible to differ on the exact terms of the new dispensation; but at some stage in the 7th century change clearly did take place. By 700 the main units of the late Roman army had all been transferred to Asia Minor where they were now financed by a sharing out of

4. See M. HENDY, op.cit. 619 - 26.
5. See infra 292 - 4.
6. R. - J. LILIE, 'Thrakien und Thrakesion. Zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts' JÖB XXVI (1977) 18 - 28; M. HENDY, op.cit. 621 - 2.
7. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 663; Notitia Dignitatum ed. O. Seeck, Berlin (1876) 12, 14.

land.[4] The effective political realities which this system embodied meant that the districts allotted to particular army corps became the basic territorial divisions of Asia Minor, and the units' generals, the strategoi, took over nearly all aspects of administration. The late Roman civilian system withered and disappeared as a political irrelevance. By the beginning of the 8th century the medieval Byzantine landscape of themes and strategoi was in place.[5]

In the Maeander region the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi were both part of the original theme system. Their names in fact reflect the years of crisis in the 7th century when the survivors of the major units of the late Roman army were withdrawn into the only land mass still in Roman hands. The Anatolikoi are the descendents of the army of the Magister Militum per Orientem. This had been the main field army on the Persian front and had been pulled back from Syria and redeployed in Anatolia. The Thrakesioi were the remnants of the army of the Magister Militum per Thraciam, withdrawn from Thrace when that was abandoned to the Avars and redeployed in western Asia Minor.[6] As late as the 10th century the component regiments of the theme army of the Thrakesioi still bore names that went back to the late Roman army of the 4th century.[7]

The first major reorganization of the theme system to effect the Maeander region was carried out in the first half of the 8th century by the Emperor Leo III (716 - 40). Up to that

8. H. ANTONIADIS BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance à propos du 'Thème des Caravisiens' Paris (1966) 63 - 98; H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer Paris (1966) 19 - 26; P. LEMERLE, Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius Paris (1981) I, 231; II, 155 - 7 and n. 244.
9. H. AHRWEILER, La mer, 31 - 5, 87 - 3; H. ANTONIADIS BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 88f, 92, 94; for the fact that it was landed see J. and P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum I, 222 - 3.
10. See infra 273.
11. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 35 - 40; THEOPHANES II, 424.
12. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 40 - 4; E. W. BROOKS, 'The Relations between the Empire and Egypt from a new Arabic source' BZ XXII (1913 - 14) 383 - 4.

date the naval strength of the Empire had been provided by a centrally equipped fleet called the Karabisianoï. [8] For reasons of political security, and no doubt operational efficiency and economy, Leo III divided the Imperial fleet between a central naval squadron based in Constantinople and a provincial fleet concentrated in south western Asia Minor. The former was directly paid for by the government; the latter, called the Kibyrrhaiotai, was supported by a provision of land in exactly the same manner as the existing army themes. [9] The territory of the Kibyrrhaiotai included ancient Lycia and some of Caria, most of which seems to have been previously part of the Anatolikoi. [10]

The early years of the new theme were ones of considerable success. In 747 an important victory was gained in the destruction of a large Arab fleet sent from Alexandria. [11] The rest of the 8th century was a period of relative security for the Byzantines at sea and it seems likely that the Empire's naval forces were allowed to decline. [12] Whatever the case, the early 9th century saw a resurgence of the Arab naval threat and a series of Byzantine disasters.

The renewed threat at sea came from the west and Africa. The Arab conquest of Sicily began in 827 and African fleets were soon dominating the Adriatic as well. In both the 820s and 830s large Arab fleets from Africa raided all over the Aegean Sea. The Byzantine response was ineffectual and Arab success

13. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 93 - 7; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 49 - 88, 194 - 8; II/1, 52 - 65, 157 - 8, 160, 177 - 8, 200 - 11, 222, 320 - 41, 365; V. CHRISTIDES, 'The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest (800 - 961 AD)', Byzantion LI (1981) 76 - 111; H. AHRWEILER, 'L'administration militaire de la Crète byzantine', Byzantion XXXI (1961) 220 - 21.
14. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 31 - 8.

culminated in the capture of Crete by a group of refugees from Spain. From this base Arab raiders could terrorize the whole Aegean basin. Worse, the island's new rulers proved extremely difficult to expel. It was to be nearly a century and a half, three costly failures and one Imperial expedition which never put to sea, before Crete was back in Byzantine hands.[13]

The attacks of the western Arabs and even more so the raids launched from Crete effectively turned the Byzantine flank. The Kibyrrhaiotai had been set up with a view to countering an enemy operating from Syrian and Egyptian ports. It was now attacked from behind and from relatively very close range.[14]

The Byzantines needed a greater concentration of naval strength in the Aegean and possibly also a greater flexibility in command. Local raiding required a more localized response which might not be well organized by a single unitary authority.

The changes in the organisation of the Aegean coastlands which took place from the 9th century onwards look like the Byzantine response to these problems. The first development was the separation of those parts of the Kibyrrhaiotai which faced Crete under independent commanders. They were originally under droungarioi but by about the middle of the century they had become full naval themes each under their own strategos. The first two were the Aegean Sea and Samos. The commander of the latter first appears in 842/3 as the droungarios of the Kolpos

- 15 Droungarioi: Aegean Sea: N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 57, 523; Kolpos: ibid. 53; strategoi: Aegean Sea; 'Acta graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii, Mitylenae in insula Lesbo', AB XVIII (1899) 253, 258 - the first reference actually reads ho tes nesou strategos, i. e. of Lesbos, the second is a repetition, N. OIKONOMIDES, op.cit. 46 - 7, 353; Samos: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 357: the same event is described in SYMEON MAGISTER 701, where the account is prefaced, "In the third year of Leo's reign...", i. e. 889; a case has been made for 893, see A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/1, 159 and n. 4; c.f. W. T. TREADGOLD, 'Notes on the numbers and organisation of the ninth-century Byzantine Army', Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies XXI/3 (1980) 277 - 8.
16. SKYLITZES 346, 373, 378, 398; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 267, 361.

but the rank was soon raised to strategos and the name changed to Samos.[15]

The system must have been a success from the start for it set the pattern for the reorganization of the Byzantine naval forces. By the mid 11th century when Arab naval raids had finally ceased there were five small naval themes in the Aegean, excluding reconquered Crete, and together or separately they had achieved a series of notable victories over their Arab enemy.[16]

The division of the Maeander region between these four themes raises a number of fairly intractable problems. The question is important in the present context partly because it reflects so closely on the administration of the region and partly also because a great deal of the available evidence refers to the themes rather than to otherwise identifiable place-names. If someone is said to come from the theme of the Thrakesioi to what parts of the Maeander region may this refer?

At the heart of the problem are the difficulties raised by Constantine Porphyrogenitos' De Thematribus. As has already been discussed in the section on sources in chapter two, the De Thematribus is far from being an official survey of the Empire's provinces. Instead it is an eccentric compilation of materials varying in date from the Hellenistic period to at least somewhere close to the time of writing. Much of the information it

17. See supra. 27-37.
18. e.g. H. AHRWEILER, La mer.
19. De Thematibus 60 - 63, 67 - 8; see supra ~~33~~ - 4.

contains is irrelevant, and some is almost certainly wrong. The whole work is a piece of literary antiquarianism and reflects no credit on Constantine's critical acumen.[17]

Nonetheless, since there is a general dearth of other information, the De Thematibus is still generally treated as the basic source for theme boundaries.[18] Yet in practice its evidence does little more than confirm the approximate areas which the themes occupied.

The chapter on the Thrakesioi is perhaps of the least use to the historian of the themes. Its contents, including the list of the twenty cities of Asia, is almost wholly antiquarian and there is no reason to believe that it forms any useful guide to 10th century reality. That on the Anatolikoi is only slightly more useful, and its information is complicated by the inclusion of material dating from before the creation of the Kibyrrhaiotai. Lycia, for example, which had certainly been part of the Kibyrrhaiotai since the 8th century, still appears in the De Thematibus as part of the Anatolikoi.[19]

The chapter on the Kibyrrhaiotai is equally arcane and uninformative despite its impression of greater geographical precision. In the first part of the chapter Constantine lists the cities along the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts from Miletos as far as Seleukia in Pamphylia. Some of the information may be valid for the 10th century but there seems to be no means of

20. ibid. 78 - 9. 153.
21. ibid. 79.
22. See W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, A Classical Map of Asia Minor; for Pisye and Mogola, see L. and J. ROBERT, La Carie II, Paris (1954) 91 n. 8; L. ROBERT, Etudes Anatoliennes Paris (1937) 473; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 2nd edn. 129.
23. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, 374.
24. De Thematibus 152; HIEROKLES 27.

disinterring this level of material from whatever was his ancient source. Clearly Constantine's principal inspiration in this section was not a contemporary document but either Strabo himself or something written in the same tradition of ancient geography.[20]

The chapter then continues with various notes before Constantine gives what is usually interpreted as the theme's northern boundary:

"North towards the interior of the continent, where the theme of the Thrakesioi ends, it starts from Miletos itself, then passes over Stratonikeia and the place called Mogola and the city of Pisye; it passes by the place Hagia and by Tauropolis; it unites Tlos and Oinianda, then goes by Phileta and Podaleia itself; it passes by the place called Anemoteichos and unites the city of Sagalassos; it then ends towards the region of the Taurus, where the race of the Isaurians live. And this is the extent of the Kibyrrhaiotai."[21]

The meaning of this passage is obscured by the lack of precision in the verbs and by the unidentified place names. Most are well known - the sites of Miletos, Stratonikeia, Mogola, Pisye, Tlos, Oinianda, Podaleia, Sagalassos and the Taurus can be readily identified[22] - but the others raise difficulties. Hagia is unknown although an equally unknown bishopric of Hagioudoula appears in some of the notitiae.[23] Tauropolis is usually read as Stauropolis, formerly Aphrodisias, but for no very pressing reason. It could equally be a deformation of Isauropolis, known to Hierocles in the Taurus mountains of Isauria.[24] On the grounds that the two do not appear together in either the

25. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 19; IDEM, Historical Geography of Asia Minor 424, this was in commenting on KINNAMOS 198, which records the capture of Phileta by the Turks in 1159.
26. J. DARROUZES, 'Sur les variations numériques des évêchés byzantins' REB XLIV (1986) 17 - 19, 32 - 40.
27. W. TOMASCHEK, 'Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter', Sitzungsberichte der Phil. Hist. Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften CXXIV (1891) Abhandlung VIII, 55.
28. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 143 - 4; HIEROKLES 31.
29. See infra 3, n. 9.
30. e. g. Grosser Historischer Weltatlas Munich (1970) II, 75; A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world Oxford (1973) Map 5.

notitiae or the lists of councils, Ramsay identified Phileta with Phaselis, on Lycia's eastern shore.[25] Phaselis does in fact appear earlier in the chapter as one of the theme's coastal cities, but given Constantine's working methods that need not be a decisive objection. More important, Darrouzès' recent work on the notitiae has done so much to undermine the force of any such argument based solely on the presence or absence of a particular suffragan see in the notitiae,[26] that there is now no reason to identify Phileta with Phaselis above any other site. Tomaschek's suggestion of the Elmali region of north eastern Lycia has just as much, or little, evidence behind it.[27] Anemoteichos can with much more confidence be identified as Panemouteichos. The site is uncertain but it seems to lie somewhere in the Pamphylia-Pisidia borderland, north of Termessos.[28]

Wherever these little known sites may have been, and whatever Constantine may have intended by his choice of verbs, it is quite clear that if one plots the identifiable placenames on a map it does not reveal a coherent northern boundary. In fact it looks more like a possible route to be taken through south western Asia Minor. Apart from Miletos, which other evidence proves to have been in the Thrakesioi,[29] most of these sites probably were in the Kibyrrhaiotai, but the chapter really does no more than indicate approximately where the theme was to be found. The division of the Kibyrrhaiotai from the Thrakesioi based on this chapter and found in so many maps and historical atlases can be safely disregarded.[30]

31. De Thematibus 81 - 2.

The chapter on the theme of Samos is equally unclear but it does contain information which appears to refer to the 10th century. The problem however is not only a matter of deciding what weight to give particular passages, but also of simply understanding what Constantine is saying:

The relevant passage reads as follows;

"Οτε γοῦν ἐγένετο ὁ μερισμὸς τῶν θεμάτων, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐπιφανεστάτην τὴν νῆσον, μητρόπολιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ θέματος τῶν πλωϊζομένων τεδείκασιν. Ἡ γὰρ μεσόγειος καὶ ἡ καταντικρὺ ἄκρα τῆς Σάμου, αὐτὴ τε ἡ Ἐφεσος καὶ Μαγνησία καὶ Τράλλεις ἢ τε Μύρινα καὶ Τέως καὶ Λέβεδος καὶ ἕως τοῦ Ἀτραμυτιίου, τὰ ἄνω καὶ πρόσγεια τῷ τῶν Θρακησίων στρατηγῷ, ἦγουν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος, ἐκείνῳ ἐκληροδοτήθησαν. Διήρηται δὲ τὸ θέμα τῆς Σάμου εἰς τούρμας δύο, μίαν μὲν τὴν Ἐφέσιον, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν Ἀτραμυτιηνήν. Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ θέματος αὐτὴν ἔλαχε Σμύρναν τὴν πόλιν πραιτώριον. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ θέματος Σάμου.

[31]

The first sentence raises few difficulties and may be translated as, "when therefore the division of the themes took place, because it was a very famous island, it was made the metropolis, and headquarters of the theme of the fleet." Partly because it is contradicted two sentences later, and partly in view of the expressions "the division of the themes" and "the theme of the

32. J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century London (1911) 109; H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 71; c.f. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 81.
33. e.g. A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 261 and Map 5; H. AHRWEILER, La mer 402 - 3; c.f. the remarks of C. Foss, Ephesus after Antiquity 117 n. 3.
34. See H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H. S. JONES, A Greek-English Lexicon 9th edn. Oxford (1940) s.v. katantikru.

fleet", this section seems best to fit the conditions of the 7th century and the Karabisianoi. As in the chapter on the Anatolikai Constantine has included material from an early Byzantine source which need no longer apply in the 10th century.[32]

The second sentence has usually been taken to mean that when the theme of Samos was set up in the 9th century it was formed by detaching a large section of coastal territory from the theme of the Thrakesioi.[33] This requires some such translation of the sentence as the following:

"For the mainland and peninsula opposite
[belong to] Samos, being Ephesos, Magnesia, Tralles,
Myrina, Teos, Lebedos and as far as Adramyttion; the
northerly and coastal areas were [previously?]
apportioned to the strategos of the Thrakesioi; namely
that man who commands the cavalry tagma."

However this seems to be straining the grammatical sense. In the first place Katantikru takes the genitive and therefore Samos is in the genitive in this sentence because of this preposition, not because of some hypothetical part of the verb 'to be' implying that the subsequent list of towns 'belonged' to the theme of Samos.[34] As a result the list now requires a verb which can only be eklerodotethesan. The alternative demands that this verb applies to ta ano kai prosgeia and hence that there is a contrast between the territory belonging to Samos and that belonging to the Thrakesioi. This is in theory possible since elsewhere in the De Thematibus Constantine does ignore the classical grammatical principle that neuter plural nouns take

35. e.g. De Thematibus 83 ll. 18 - 21.
36. H. ANTONIADES-BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 77; see H. G. Liddell et al, op.cit. s. v. prosgelos.
37. This translation takes into account a comma after tagmatos, De Thematibus 81, ll. 10 - 13; this does not appear in Pertusi's edition but is an emmendation by H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 77 n. 2.

singular verbs.[35] However the easiest and obvious explanation is that the whole sentence is a simple statement of the lands of the Thrakesioi, all following from the single verb at the end of the sentence.

A few minor difficulties remain. He... mesogeios might mean 'mainland', but there is also a fairly common usage by which it means 'interior' as in the interior of an island. This could be the case here. Ta... prosgeia obviously has a basic meaning derived from its constituent parts of 'near the earth' or 'near the ground'. It can as an extension of this mean 'close to the shore' and there are examples where in the neuter plural it means 'inshore islands'. If the use of he...mesogeios was intended to mean that the interior of Samos was part of the Thrakesioi, it might also be correct to translate ta...prosgeia as 'inshore islands' here, and thus perhaps assign Chios and Lesbos to the Thrakesioi.[36]

With these points kept in mind the sentence can be translated thus:

"Now the interior [of the island?] and the promontory opposite Samos, being Ephesos, Magnesia, Tralles, Myrina, Teos and Lebedos, and as far as Adramyttion, and the northern parts and the coastal islands, were allotted to the strategos of the Thrakesioi, that is to say the commander of the cavalry tagma." [37]

38. See supra n. 15.

It follows from this translation that the Thrakesioi controlled the whole of the western Asia Minor coastlands and that in any case this sentence, like the first one, refers to the earliest years of the theme. The only sentence of the whole passage which appears to describe the 10th century is - typically of the De Thematibus - the short last sentence, which can be identified as part of a later stratum by its contradiction of what was said in the rest of the chapter:

"The theme of Samos is divided into two tourmai, one is Ephesos, the second is Adramyttion. The strategos of the theme has the city of Smyrna as his headquarters."

All that this shows is that as one would have expected the theme fleet of Samos in the 9th and 10th centuries was based in the largest west coast ports. How this was organized in terms of jurisdiction and territory is unclear, but certainly the De Thematibus gives no evidence that the theme of Samos included a large mainland territory.

The other evidence for the division of the Maeander region between the four themes is confined to scattered references, but it does confirm the impression given by the De Thematibus that the greater part of the Lower Maeander region formed part of the Thrakesioi.

The theme of Samos was formed about the middle of the 9th century. Its predecessor, under the droungarios of the Kolpos, is first mentioned in 842/3; the theme thus, at the earliest, dates from the following decade.[38] Before this in the 8th and

39. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 117, 195 - 6.
40. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae ed. H. Delehay, Brussels (1902) 62, 711; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 64, 118.
41. 'S. Theodori Studitae Epistolarum' PG XCIX, Ep. LXII, 1277; Ep. LXVI, 1289; 'Vita Theodori Studitae' ibid., 190, 204 - 5; in the early 11th century, Euthymios Peribleptos refers to heretics, 'en tois tōn Thraikōn meresin en te tēi topothesiai tēs Smyrnēs kai en allois pollois topois...'. If anything Euthymios appears to be drawing a contrast between 'the parts of the Thracians', i.e. the Thrakesioi, and 'the district of Smyrna'; however, the passage does not seem to be intended as specific and cannot be used as evidence either way, G. FICKER, Die Phundagiagiten Leipzig (1908) 67, ll. 9 - 10; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 38; C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 492.
42. 'Vita Theodori Studitae' Pg XCIX.
43. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137.
44. ibid. 240; GEORGIUS MONACHUS 912; SKYLITZES 328; F. HALKIN, 'Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas le vainquer des Arabes en 863 (d'après un texte inédit); AB LXII (1944) 218 - 19; see supra
45. MB V, 459 - 61, nrr. 180; se also GEORGES and DEMETRIOS TORNIKES, Lettres et Discours ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris (1970) 150 - 51 n. 1, 173; see supra
46. F. HALKIN, 'Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas' 218 - 19.
47. GENESIOS 86; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/1, 27.

early 9th century Ephesos,[39] Sardis,[40] Smyrna[41] and Mastaura[42] are all described as lying in the theme of the Thrakesioi. In the 820s an Arab raid is described as having attacked the coast of the Thrakesioi and penetrated as far as mount Latros.[43]

The evidence from after the mid century shows no sign that this arrangement had changed. At various dates over the 9th to 11th century, Plateia Petra, the fortress in Lydia, is described as being in the Thrakesioi.[44] In the 11th century Philadelphia too was part of the theme.[45] Clearly the Thrakesioi continued to include the greater part of the western Asia Minor river valleys and extended beyond the lower Maeander region to the north.

The account given in the Life of St. Anthony the Younger of the events of 863 implies that Ephesos was in the theme. The saint went there to meet Petronas, the strategos of the Thrakesioi, and together they went to Plateia Petra.[46] Shortly after 867 the Paulician leader, Chrysocheir, raided as far west as the Thrakesioi and sacked Ephesos.[47] The natural interpretation of both these references is that Ephesos was part of the theme.

Throughout the period up to the Turkish invasions there is no sign that the coast was part of a separate jurisdiction. In 935 a small contingent from each of the three tourmai of the

48. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITS, De Cer. I, 663; see supra and n. 7.
49. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENTOS, De Cer. I, 652; see supra
50. SKYLITZES 378, 398 - 9; see H. R. IDRIS, La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides, Xe - XIIe siècles Publication de l'Institut des Etudes Orientales, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Alger, Paris (1962) I, 167f.
51. LAZAROS 529, 536, 538, 558.
52. ibid. 535, 539; SKYLITZES 478; see also MB V, 299 - 300, Ep. 68: Psellos writes to the Patriarch Constantine Leichoudes praising the wine he is sending him and saying that it comes from Kouzenas.
53. MM IV, 307 - 8; for judges sent from Constantinople to adjudicate a particular case in the provinces, see H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 78.

Thrakesioi was sent to Italy as part of a diplomatic expedition to Hugh of Arles. Two of the tourmai had names current in the late Roman army, the third was called the tourma of the shore.[48] The plain implication is that the Thrakesioi included the coast. This appears to be confirmed by the documents recording the Cretan expedition of 911 which note the Armenians based at Priene to guard the shores of the theme.[49] In the 11th century the Arab raids, which continued to trouble the coasts of western Asia Minor, are always described as being against the Thrakesioi.[50] The mid 11th century Life of St. Lazaros, who lived on mount Galesion, 15 kilometres north of Ephesos, makes no direct reference to either the Thrakesioi or Samos. Themes in fact are only mentioned as an indication of the distant places from which visitors or disciples come to the Holy Father. Thus the Life refers several times to the Anatolikoi and the Opsikion.[51] However the Life does name Kouzena near Magnesia on the Maeander as a neighbouring monastery and this is known from Skylitzes to have been in the Thrakesioi.[52] At the least the Life shows that the coastlands were not divided between two themes in any way which affected the geographical perception of the monks of Galesion.

Further south it is unfortunate that so little documentary evidence has survived from the monasteries on mount Latros, however there is a record of a pittakion of Basil II dated 985, where significantly a judge was sent to the Thrakesioi to settle a dispute between the monks of Latros and those of Lamponion.[53]

54. PAUL OF LATROS 106 - 35.
55. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 204, 235 - 6; GEORGIUS MONACHUS 829 - 30; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 259 - 60; W. TOMASCHEK, 'Zur historischen Topographie' 36; c.f. W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor III, 423.
56. EP II, nr. 52, 51 - 9; nr. 53, 72; other documents concerned with this translation are EP I, nr. 5, 44 - 7; nr. 46, 329 - 30; nr. 47, 333 - 4; for the date see EP II, 46, 61 - 2, 64.
57. EP II, nr. 52, 59 l. 183.
58. See H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 50 n.4; N. BANESCU, 'La signification des titres de praitor et pronoetes à Byzance aux XIe et XIIe siècles' Studi e Testi CXXIII (1946) 395 - 8; E. HERMAN 'Ricerca sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine', Orientalia Christiana Periodica VI (1940) 334, c.f. T. WASILEWSKI, 'Les titres de duc, de catepan et de pronoetes dans l'empire byzantin du IXe jusqu'au XIIe siècle Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines Ochrid (1961) II, 237; note also the suggestion that even in this context the title implies the administration of ecclesiastical land, N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025 - 1118)' TM VI (1976) 149 - 50: the idea is not quite convincing, but even if correct would only serve to reduce yet further the evidence for the administrative responsibilities of the strategos of Samos.

A few years earlier, the Life of St. Paul of Latros gives no indication that this region was part of any theme other than the Thrakesioi.[54]

More exact evidence concerns Miletos and the Didyma peninsula. In 865 Michael III and the Caesar Bardas gathered an army at Kepoi near the mouth of the Maeander. All the chronicle accounts of this episode agree that Kepoi was in the Thrakesioi. Since the late medieval portulans show the port of Kepoi to have been south of Miletos, it follows that both Miletos itself and the Didyma peninsula were under the jurisdiction of the Thrakesioi.[55]

No territorial jurisdiction is recorded for the strategos of Samos until the late 1080s when Eustathios Charsianites was involved in the transfer of property from the Sekreton of the Myrelaion to the monastery of St. John on Patmos. The property in question was two proasteia and a kastron on the small island of Leros.[56] That the strategos did have administrative duties by this date is underlined by Eustathios exact title of strategos and pronoetes of Samos.[57] Pronoetes is a slightly vague title in the 11th century but it implies some sort of administrative role.[58]

Some documentary evidence for the personnel of the theme is preserved in the dossier on the Cretan expedition of 911. In that year the theme of Samos could muster a force of 22 ships and

59. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 653.
60. J. and P. ZEPOS, Jus Graecoromanum I, 222 - 3.
61. For a full discussion of the extent of military lands and the income they may have produced see infra 487 f.

4,680 men. Of the latter 3,980 were rowers and other naval personnel, and 700 were soldiers.[59] Later, during Constantine Porphyrogenitos' personal rule between 945 and 959, a novel was issued stating that those serving in the naval themes of the Aegean Sea, the Kibyrrhaiotai and Samos should have immovable property worth two pounds of gold. Since the novel explicitly refers to their service as rowing, the marines of the text are at the least the 3,980 rowers and probably also include the 700 soldiers.[60]

Thus one must presume that in the 10th century there was land worth about 10,000 pounds of gold set aside for the support of the theme of Samos. However this need not imply either an extensive territorial bloc or a major judicial and administrative role for the theme's strategos on the mainland. The land assigned to each marine was only half the value of a cavalryman's property in a theme such as the Thrakesioi, and it would have produced an income of no more than 20 - 40 nomismata per annum. Many marines may have been rather wealthier than lands worth two pounds of gold would imply, but even so, 5,000 such properties, divided between the cities of Smyrna, Ephesos and Adramyttion, and including the island of Samos, would not have amounted to any great territory.[61]

The choice of name, Samos, rather than that of the fleet's headquarters at Smyrna, or some other mainland designation, carefully avoids the impression that the theme had taken anything

62. On the depopulation and recovery of the Aegean islands during the Byzantine period, see E.MALAMUT, 'Les îles de la mer Egée de la fin du XI^e siècle à 1204', Byzantion LII (1982) 310 - 12, 328 - 32; for islands dependent on an export trade in one local product, the impact of the Arab conquest of Crete must have been devastating: see e.g. Santirini, a bleak and treeless island, dependent in the 19th century on a trade in wine, J. T. BENT, The Cyclades London (1885) 120 - 22; see also the evidence for the better documented impact of Turkish raids on these islands in the 15th century, F. W. HASLUCK, 'Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish conquests', BSA XVII (1910 - 11) 151 - 75.
63. EP II, nr. 52, 51f.; nr. 53, 72 -3.
64. On the judicial responsibilities of the strategos see infra
65. See e.g. supra n. 30.
66. supra n. 55.

from the jurisdiction of the Thrakesioi. The theme of Samos would appear to have been set up as a military response to the conquest of Crete by the Arabs, not as a new means of administering Asia Minor. Following the Byzantine recovery of Crete in 961, the Aegean islands were repopulated and returned to the Empire's effective control. In default of any other suitable alternative their administration was turned over to the strategoi of the naval themes, including Samos.[62] Yet even by the 1080s there is no sign that the strategos of Samos actually had a very important administrative responsibility. The archives of the monastery of St. John suggest that the theme included no more than Leros, Leipsoi and possibly Kos, in addition to Samos itself.[63] On the mainland the strategos may have judged disputes among his own marines,[64] but the overall responsibility for the coastlands of western Asia Minor and its cities, including Ephesos and Smyrna, remained with the strategos, and later judge, of the Thrakesioi. For the history of the Maeander region the strategos of Samos need no longer be of interest.

The southern border of the theme, where the Thrakesioi marched with the Kibyrrhaiotai, is less well attested and the consequent confusion is reflected in the various lines taken by modern maps of the themes.[65] On the northern side the fixed points are Miletos, Magnesia on the Maeander and Kepoi. In particular the fact that Kepoi was in the Thrakesioi proves that the theme included both banks of the Maeander.[66] There is no

67. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 124; SKYLITZES 398.
68. A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 258 - 9.

question of Ramsay's suggestion that the Byzantine themes, like the Roman or the ecclesiastical provinces, divided along the line of the river. Otherwise, however, there is no firm evidence for a southern limit until one reaches Lycia. Even Strobilos, south east of Halikarnassos, has been claimed as part of the Thrakesioi, but this is based only on a misunderstanding of Skylitzes. The text gives no indication as to what theme Strobilos belonged.[67]

For the Kibyrrhaiotai the evidence is even less. This has led some commentators, on the basis of the De Thematibus alone, to assign central and eastern Caria to the Thrakesioi.[68] Aside from the dangers in such a dependence on Constantine's words, there is good evidence that on the contrary this area belonged to the Kibyrrhaiotai.

The evidence depends on the city after which the theme was named. In both the 10th and the 20th centuries it has been presumed that because the Kibyrrhaiotai was a naval theme it must have been named after a port, and the only possibility seemed to be Pamphylian Kibyrra. That such a small, totally insignificant and otherwise unknown coastal town in Pamphylia should have given its name to the theme seemed a problem even to Constantine Porphyrogenitos, who gave the bizarre explanation that it was so named as an insult. One of his modern successors, equally puzzled, has instead suggested that this tiny port was so honoured as a reward for a conspicuous - but unrecorded - deed

69. De Thematibus 79, 149 - 53; A. TOYNBEE, op.cit. 258 - 9; H. AHRWEILER, La mer 51.
70. A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 252 - 74; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 348 - 63.
71. '2. Kibyra' RE XI/1, 377; a strong candidate for the site of Pamphylian Kibyra has been discovered near the village of Guney, 20 kilometres east north east of Karaburun. Inscriptions show that the site enjoyed civic status down to the 3rd century AD and there are also the remains of a chapel. One of the inscriptions dates to the 5th/6th century. The settlement may have moved to the site of Mylorne-Justinianopolis at Karaburun, but this does not have any important bearing on whether Kibyra was the capital of the Kibyrrhaiotai. The name is still unattested in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. G. E. BEAN, T. B. MITFORD, Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964 - 1968 Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse, Derkschriften 102, Vienna (1970) 59 - 66; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provines 215. If Pertusi is correct in seeing Strabo, book XIV, as a source, either direct or indirect, for Constantine's chapter on the Kibyrrhaiotai, it may be more significant that Strabo refers to this area as Hē Kiburatōn paralía ton mikrōn, STRABO XIV, iv, 2; De Thematibus 153.
72. '1. Kibyra' RE XI/1, 374 - 7; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 74 - 6; PLINY, Naturalis Historia V, xxix, 105; HIEROKLES 33; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 465, et passim; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, 382 nr. 520.

at sea against the Arabs. Both explanations are incredible.[69]

Older Byzantine themes were named after the late Roman institutions on which they were based - thus, for example, the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi; more recent themes were either named after their chief city or by the contemporary name for the region.[70] There is no parallel for naming the Kibyrrhaiotai after Pamphylian Kibyrra. The town is hardly mentioned in antiquity, and in the late Roman period it was neither a city nor a bishopric; in the middle ages there is no reason to think it even existed. It does not appear in any source, not even the *notitiae*. [71] Inland, however, in eastern Caria there is a much more important Kibyrra and it was after this city that the theme must have been named. Carian Kibyrra had been the centre of a Roman judicial district, a late Roman city and was subsequently the protothronos of the metropolitan province of Caria.[72]

Why the Kibyrrhaiotai was named after this city is not clear, but the most likely explanation is that Kibyrra had been the centre of an important group of Imperial estates which formed the core of the theme's original landed endowment. In the 2nd century BC very large areas of inland Caria centred upon Kibyrra were owned by a certain Moagetes and his successors. When the area was conquered by the Romans the Moagetid dynasty was suppressed and the whole of these extensive lands passed first to the Roman people, and then into the Imperial patrimony. There, since there is no evidence to the contrary, they may be presumed

73. A. H. M. JONES, op.cit. 75 - 6; se also T. R. S. BROUGHTON, 'Roman Landholding in Asia Minor', Transactions of the American Philosophical Association LXV (1934) 207 - 39, esp. 224 - 9; B. LEVICK, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor Oxford (1967), Appendix VI, 215 - 26.
74. See W. T. TREADGOLD, 'The Military Lands and Imperial Estates in the Middle Byzantine Empire' Harvard Ukrainian Studies VII (1983) 619 - 31, esp. 630 n. 37.
75. W. TOMASCHEK, 'Zur historischen Topographie' 38 - 9; the site is now called the Çifitkalesi near the village of Aspat, 12 kilometres south west of Bodrum, L. ROBERT, Etudes Epigraphiques et Philologiques Paris (1938) 165 - 6 and n. 4; G. E. BEAN, J. M. COOK, 'The Halicarnassus Peninsula' BSA L(1955) 129 and n. 184; IDEM 'The Carian Coast III' BSA LII (1957) 88; P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Mentesche 172; see also infra 395 f.
76. See V. RUGGIERI, 'Tracce bizantine nella penisola di Cnido', Orientalia Christiana Periodica LII (1986) 179 - 201.
77. See supra 138-9.
78. G. E. BEAN, J. M. COOK, 'The Carian Coast III' BSA LII (1957) 97 - 7.
79. See supra 2 - 10.

to have remained into the late Empire and beyond.[73] There is not much evidence for Imperial estates in the middle Byzantine period, but there are sufficient references for the 10th and 11th centuries, including those to kouratores in the Taktika, to suggest that had such an extremely large group of estates still been in Imperial possession the fact would be known. It has been suggested that the disappearance of the late Roman Imperial estates in the early Byzantine period is to be explained by their distribution as the original landed endowment of the themes in the 7th century. It seems likely that the disappearance of the estates based on Kibyrra and the establishment of the theme of the Kibyrrhaiotai is a particular example of this general process.[74]

If the Kibyrrhaiotai was named after Carian Kibyrra and the Imperial estates, then the theme must have included central and eastern Caria. Beyond that all is uncertain. As a naval theme founded to fight the Arabs coming from Syria and Egypt against Constantinople it would have included the major coastal fortresses of south western Asia Minor. Thus Strobilos[75] and the fortresses of the north Carian coast were probably in the Kibyrrhaiotai.[76] Iasos[77] and Bargylia[78] would therefore have been in this theme rather than in the Thrakesioi. If so then a likely division of the themes would follow the watershed between the central Carian hills and those bordering the Maeander - in other words the southern limit of the Maeander region.[79] The route system and the landscape naturally divide along this

80. De Thematibus 79.
81. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum', PG XCIX, 190; 'S. Theodori Studitae Epistolarum' ibid. Ep. LXII, 1277; Ep. LXVI, 1289; 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 176 - 7; see supra
82. See supra 6-10.
83. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 195 - 6; see supra 192 .

line. It is no more than a hypothesis but is one which would give both themes a geographical coherence.

The only area where this approach gives no help is the plain of Mylasa. If Iasos and Bargylia were in the Kibyrrhaiotai it does suggest that the plain behind them would have been too. The De Thematibus assigns Mylasa to the Kibyrrhaiotai but there is really no compelling reason to decide either way.[80]

The remaining theme frontier in the Maeander region can be dealt with briefly. To the east of the Thrakesioi lay the Anatolikoi. The evidence in the lives of St. Theodore the Stoudite and St. Luke the Stylite is quite plain that the whole Upper Maeander region, including specifically the Banaz and Baklan ovalarsi and the valley of the Acı Tüz gölü were in the Anatolikoi.[81] The only doubt centres on the valley of the Lykos, and as with the border between the Thrakesioi and the Kibyrrhaiotai geographical coherence appears to offer the best solution. The Lykos is naturally a part of the Lower Maeander region and could only have been ruled from the central plateau with considerable inconvenience.[82] Indeed there is much to be said for C. Foss's suggestion that a capital in the Lykos would have been much more convenient than Ephesos for a theme fighting the Arabs coming overland from the east.[83]

As interpreted here the Maeander region was divided along natural lines of geography so that the Upper Maeander was in the Anatolikoi and the Lower Maeander almost entirely in the

84. De Thematibus 115; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 123.

Thrakesioi. Both the naval themes of the Kibyrrhaiotai and Samos were marginal to the administration of the region.

However the association between the Lower Maeander and the Thrakesioi is much closer than that between the Upper Maeander and the Anatolikoi. The latter stretched east over the central plateau; the Upper Maeander played a key role in the theme, but in terms of territory it was no more than a small part of an institution whose capital lay 200 kilometres to the north east.[84] By contrast the Lower Maeander made up about two-thirds of the Thrakesioi containing the strategically most vital and economically most productive districts of the theme. The rulers of the Lower Maeander can be fairly identified with the rulers of the Thrakesioi. Analysis of the relatively well documented theme hierarchy brings one close to one aspect of the region's power structure.

1. See infra, chapter eleven.
2. See infra, chapter twelve.
3. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 36-8, 42-3; LEO VI, Taktika c. 680.
4. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 67-78.

CHAPTER EIGHT. The Official Hierarchy: strategoi and Judges
 (7th-11th centuries).

Throughout the Byzantine period up to the Turkish invasions the formal administration of the Thrakesioi, and thus of the lower Maeander region, was divided between the military hierarchy of the theme, the officials of the fisc and the customs, judges sent out from Constantinople, the kouratores of the Imperial estates, the church and the private administrations of lay estates. Of these the most important were successively the military hierarchy under the strategos and the judges sent out from Constantinople. These will be the subject of this chapter, while the Church[1] and the lesser hierarchies[2] will be discussed elsewhere below.

Between the 7th and the late 11th century provincial government went through two distinct phases. During the first the governor was the strategos, the commander of the theme army, who exercised authority over all matters civilian, military, fiscal, public and private;[3] in the second, which developed from the later 10th century, civil authority was gradually transferred into the hands of judges.[4] In some themes strategoi seem no longer to have been appointed after the first half of the 11th century, and even those such as the Thrakesion where strategoi are attested, they and their troops were liable to be posted away from the province, and in those cases where

5. IDEM, 46-63, 76; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XI siècle (1025-1118)' TM VI (1976) 148-50.
6. See supra 267-70.

they stayed their authority was probably confined to military affairs.[5]

Thus on the eve of the Turkish invasions the effective governor of the lower Maeander region was the theme judge of the Thrakesioi. By as early as the mid 11th century the sole rule of the strategos was probably only a distant memory, but it is important to see how the judges inherited an administrative system embodying a relationship between Constantinople and the province going back over four centuries. As the study of Maeander towns has shown, the structures of Maeander society had taken centuries to develop and in view of the rather slight evidence, their form only becomes clear when seen over a long period. Hence, although this chapter is looking toward the 11th century, it will first explore the background, appointment and political role of the strategoi of the Thrakesioi, before considering that of the later theme judges.

As with the development of themes discussed above, the sole rule of the strategoi was a product of the crisis of the 7th century.[6] In the late Roman period the lower Maeander region had instead been divided between the provinces of Asia and Caria, both governed by a civilian proconsul whose responsibilities included acting as a judge of first instance, the supervision of revenue, the post and public works, and the activities of city councils. The proconsul was also responsible for the general maintenance of law and order, and the execution of central government

7. A. H. M. JONES, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602 Oxford (1964) 373-6, map II.
8. R.-J. LILIE, 'Thrakien und Thrakesion. Zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts' JOB XXVI (1977) 12-15; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang - und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert Berlin (1985) 140-41.
9. See for some examples of J. M. WAGSTAFF, The Evolution of Middle Eastern Landscapes London (1985) 25-6; for the Roman period see W. M. RAMSAY, 'The speed of the Roman Imperial Post' JRS XV (1925) 60-74; a form of the Imperial post survived into the middle Byzantine period, M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary economy 602-13; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 863: "hamstringing the public horses at each change"; more important than the fastest journey times was the possibility of making journeys deliberately slow when the occasion demanded, see F. MILLAR, 'Emperors, Frontiers and Foreign Relations, 31 BC to AD 378' Britannia XIII (1982) 9-11.

commands. The proconsul had no authority over any army unit based in the province, and equally army commanders in the region had no authority to interfere in the civilian sphere.[7]

The crisis of the 7th century overturned this arrangement. The civilian world, centred on the late Roman cities, was in ruins - often literally - and the landing of the army gave the military commanders a de facto authority which in course made the civilian administration redundant. By the early 8th century at the latest, the themes - in this sense the military districts on which the theme armies had been landed - were the main effective administrative units of the Empire. The strategos was the new provincial governor; civilian proconsuls and eparchs continued to be appointed in the 7th century, but the post fulfilled no actual role and gradually disappeared.[8]

The central Imperial government's reluctance to abandon a civilian administration is not so much evidence of inertia, as a reflection of its uneasiness about the political consequences of the landing of the late Roman army. With good reason officials in Constantinople were concerned lest they lose control. In terms of medieval speeds of communication, Asia Minor was a huge land mass. An order sent from Constantinople could take months to reach distant commands, and further months to find out if it had been obeyed.[9] In the 6th century central financial control had usually been decisive, but although there was still an element of payment in the Byzantine soldier's income, the basis

10. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 181-7, 625, 634-40, 645-54.
11. See W. E. KAEGI, Byzantine Military Unrest 471-843: an Interpretation Amsterdam (1981) passim, 154-330; for separatist developments in Byzantine Italy see T. S. BROWN, Gentlemen and Officers British School at Rome (1984) 150-55, 159-63, 205-20.
12. See W. E. KAEGI, op.cit. 170, 203-4, 206.

of his support was a landed estate.[10] If the theme soldiers saw their loyalty as owed primarily to the local commander rather than to the central government, then the Empire faced a major political problem. At best this would be reflected in recurrent rebellions by the theme armies, intent on toppling the current regime and installing their own strategoi as Emperor; at worst there was the threat of the Empire's dissolution into semi-independent militarized fiefdoms - effectively hereditary because the Emperor could only appoint a strategos acceptable to the local soldiers.[11]

In great part because of the existence of Constantinople as a secure Imperial capital, the seat of the court and source of all official status in Byzantine culture the Byzantine Empire managed to avoid the fragmentation which overcame the post-Carolingian west. The fact that again and again rebels launched their attacks on Constantinople rather than setting up as independent rulers shows the continuing unity of the Empire, but the recurrent rebellions equally demonstrate the insecurity of Constantinopolitan regimes. The cultural pull of Constantinople was not enough to guarantee the coherence of the Empire and central authority had to be reinforced by other means.[12]

By the end of the 7th century the Imperial government appears to have given up the attempt to maintain civilian governors in the provinces. At the end of the 9th century the Emperor Leo VI recognized in his Taklika what had clearly been

13. LEO VI, Taktika c. 680.
14. J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System 89; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 313; F. DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 70-71, 117; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur 133-5.
15. N. OIKONOMIDES 'Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of the Kommerkiarioi' DOP XL (1986) 34, 38-9; F. WINKELMANN, op.cit. 135-7.
16. W. T. TREADGOLD, 'The Military Lands and the Imperial Estates in the Middle Byzantine Empire' HUS VII (1983) 630-31.
17. See infra 374f.
18. The Bessai at Ataia belonging, apparently in 1054, to St. George of the Mangana from which Constantine IX Monomarchos made a grant of 1000 modioi of wheat to the Nea Moni on Chios, is unlikely to be the same as the Bessai near Ephesos which was given to St. Lazaros of Galesion before November 1053, K. KANELLAKIS, Chiaka Analekta Athens (1890) 553-5; B. K. STEPHANIDES, 'Hoi kodikes tēs Adrianoupoleos' BZ XIV (1905) 593; LAZAROS 79, 246; E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse' REB XLIII (1985) 243-51; however the latter Bessai was given to Lazaros by Maria Skleraina; she in turn held the estates of the Mangana from which she made other donations. It is therefore quite probable that whatever the relationship between the two Bessai, that near Ephesos had previously belonged to the Mangana, LAZAROS 584-5; PSELLOS I, 147; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'St. George of Mangana, Maria Skleraina, and the Malyj Sion of Novgorod' DOP XXXIV-XXXV (1980-81) 241-3.

the practice for a long time. The strategos had the supreme authority in the theme, and Leo explicitly includes all things fiscal, military, private and public.[13]

Some counterweight to the strategos was achieved by having various administrative tasks performed by officials who reported directly to Constantinople. Thus the tax districts - dioikeseis each under a dioiketes responsible for the assessment and collection of direct taxation - were not part of the theme hierarchy but came under the logothete of the genikon in Constantinople.[14] Similarly the 9th and 10th century lists of court precedence shows the kommerkiarioi, who by that date collected customs duties, as part of the same logothete's office.[15]

Most of the late Roman Imperial estates had been dispersed in the 7th century,[16] but those which remained and those which increasingly were accumulated from the later 9th century were never placed under the strategos. By the mid 11th century the Imperial estates of the Myrelaion[17] and possibly St. George of the Mangana[18] controlled considerable parts of the Thrakesion, effectively outside the strategos' jurisdiction. An incident in the second half of the 10th century shows this in practice. In 968-9 the newly appointed archbishop of Miletos, Nikephoros arrived in his see to discover that the archiepiscopal estates were being pillaged by agents of the Myrelaion. The strategos played no part in the subsequent dispute; instead the archbishop

19. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.
20. See in particular EP I, nr. 2, 17-18; nr. 3, 25-7; nr. 4, 33-4; MM IV, 307-17: lack of proper documents could put land rights at risk, and as in the west created a demand for forgeries, ibid. 310, 323, 324-5; KEKAUMENOS c. 122, 51; see M. T. CLANCHY, From Memory to Written Record London (1979) 248-57.
21. F. DOLGER, J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre I. Die Kaiserurkunden Byzantisches Handbuch III/1, Munich (1968) 117-25.

went straight to Constantinople to protest to the Emperor.[19]

Such appeals over the strategos to Constantinople were not confined to cases where the local officials reported directly to superiors in the capital, but instead appear to have been a widespread feature of middle Byzantine provincial life which the Emperor and the Constantinopolitan government were keen to encourage. Most of the surviving documentation comes from the archives at Patmos, mount Athos and the Latros cartulary. These monasteries enjoyed Imperial patronage and exempt status and hence would have been more likely to appeal to Constantinople than others less favoured, but their archives do contain evidence for the same appeals from laymen and smaller non-Imperial monasteries. It is clear from this evidence that some sections of provincial society were able to appeal to Constantinople for judgement on certain issues.[20] The Imperial court could not only provide the best documentary support for any land claim, but it was the only possible legal source for the very valuable privilege of tax exemption.[21]

The rarity of documents from the Strategoi may well be a distortion imposed by the pattern of survival. Only mount Athos has preserved more than half its original archives; at the monastery of St. John on Patmos 150 out of about 400 have survived; from the Nea Moni on Chios copies of about 20 documents are all that remain from about 600 destroyed in 1822. The fragmentary cartulary of the monastery of St. Paul on Latros

22. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio. Essai de reconstitution d'un dossier perdu', BNJ XXII (1979) 277-8.
23. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 67-71; see MM IV, 307; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 323-4; see also R. MORRIS, 'Dispute settlement in the Byzantine provinces in the tenth century' in The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe ed. W. Davies, P. Fouracre, Cambridge (1986) 131-5, 139: a land dispute of 942-3 which involved an appeal to Constantinople.
24. For a discussion of the evidence suggesting an important civilian role in provincial administration during the 8th and 9th centuries, see F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang - und Ämterstruktur 118-37, 138-43.

is the remains of what was probably a similarly large original total.[22]

Once one person or group, however, had Imperial confirmation of their rights, their neighbours were under pressure to do the same, and as the economy of Byzantine Asia Minor revived from the 9th century onwards so the demand grew. The development coincided with, and no doubt in part encouraged the rise of the theme judges to take over administrative responsibility for the theme. Up to the 10th century the numbers involved were still sufficiently few for demand to be met by sending Constantinopolitan judges to the themes on temporary and particular assignments, but the body of work appears to have been growing so that by the 11th century, even without other administrative changes, the strategos would have found his judicial role reduced by the presence of a permanent civilian judge sent as a representative of the Constantinopolitan courts.[23]

Such administrative and judicial arrangements[24] did provide some check on the strategos' power, but even appeal to Constantinople could only be a secondary factor. To control the strategoi and to maintain Imperial authority in the provinces, the Emperor had to keep control of their appointment and their length of service.

The official ideal at the end of the 9th century was set

25. LEO VI, Taktika c. 680-93; P. NOAILLES, A DAIN, Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le sage Paris (1944) 282-5; the length of a strategos' period of office appears to have been about three or four years. The positive evidence for this is rather slight, no more than a disputed passage in Kekaumenos' Strategikon and a report in the De Ceremoniis that 10th century strategoi were paid once every four years; however it seems to fit most of the other evidence, H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 45 ns. 1 and 2, 78 n. 4; KEKAUMENOS 65; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 493; very long periods of office were probably exceptions, see for example A. GUILLOU, 'Notes sur la société dans le katépanat d'Italie au XIe siècle' Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge LXXVIII (1966) 459-61; the career of Michael Lachanodrakon, see infra
26. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 36; however c.f. ibid 39-40.

out by the Emperor Leo VI in the Taktika and in an Imperial Novel issued in the decade before 896 whose terms entered the later legal codes. The law stated that save in the most extraordinary circumstances and with express Imperial permission, a man should not become strategos in his own country of origin. Once in office he was only to hold the post for a limited period and during that time he was forbidden to build a house there or to acquire property on pain of confiscation of his personal fortune. The strategos was also strictly prohibited from arranging the marriage of any one of his sons, daughters or other relatives to any inhabitant of the theme.[25]

The Imperial government clearly intended that the Strategos be an outsider in the theme acting as a representative of the Emperor in Constantinople, not as a representative of the provincial community. To make the point clear the strategos could be referred to as the ek prosopou of the Emperor - one who acts in the name of.[26]

The fact that the legislation was enacted can however suggest that Leo VI and his successors were not confident that all strategoi fulfilled this role in practice. Indeed in other aspects the evidence shows that the strategoi's behaviour fell short of the ideal. As with virtually all official posts in any European state up until very recent times, the strategos was intended to make a profit out of his period of office. An 11th century judicial source, the Peira, actually states this as part

27. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 34.
28. ibid I, 209, 211, 213, 215, 226; J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 148, Ep. 86; see R. MORRIS, 'The Powerful and the Poor' 11.
29. KEKAUMENOS 14-15, 18-19.
30. LEO VI, Taktika c. 681.
31. See KEKAUMENOS 18.
32. P. NOAILLES, A. DAIN, Les nouvelles de Léon VI le sage 282-5.
33. I. DJURIC, 'Porodica Foka' ZRVI XVII (1976) 227-8.

of a judgement,[27] but from the 10th century onwards there are numerous complaints of extortion, exploitation and bias. The mid 10th century Novels list the strategoi among the dunatoi who were oppressing the penetes,[28] and Kekaumenos in the mid 11th century lectures the would-be strategos on rectitude and fair dealing as qualities too often lacking in his colleagues.[29] It is presumably significant that Leo VI saw aphilarguria - 'having no love of money' as one of the paramount moral virtues of a strategos.[30]

There is nothing in these accusations that need imply that the strategoi were part of local society in their own right. Indeed corruption and exploitation may be easier to practise as an outsider, in the theme on a temporary assignment;[31] they are not usually the vices of the resident local aristocrat. However Leo's Novel does acknowledge the possibility that under exceptional circumstances a man might be made strategos in his own country,[32] and there are examples from the eastern frontier themes to show that this was sometimes the case. The Phokades, for example, may already have been powerful in Cappadocia before members of the family were appointed to the theme as strategoi.[33] The Argyroi are another example. Leo Argyros was a mid-9th century tourmarch possibly in the theme of Charsianon. He later founded the monastery of St. Elizabeth at Charsianon which became the burial ground and a focus of family sentiment for generations of Argyroi. Leo's son, Eustathios Argyros, had a house in Charsianon and was to be buried in the family monastery,

34. J.-F. VANNIER, Familles Byzantines. Les Argyroi (IXe-XIIe siècles) Paris (1975) 19-20, 22-4.
35. KEKAUMENOS 65-6.

yet in spite of this he was appointed to command Charsianon as its strategos.[34] If Kekaumenos' words are correctly understood, the Book of Advice seems to be showing a similar pattern of strategoi with family links and property in the western frontier theme of Larissa.[35]

The evidence on which to judge whether the strategoi of the Thrakesioi came closer to Leo VI's ideal, or rather to these examples of local power and influence on the eastern and western frontiers, is confined to fifteen strategoi, known from the mid-8th to the late-11th century. The names of another fifty strategoi are recorded, but without any indication of their careers or background.

8th century -

1. Sisinnakios
2. Leo
3. Michael Lakhanodrakon
4. Bardanes

9th century -

5. Bardas
6. Constantine Kontomytes
7. Petronas
8. Symbatios
9. Nikephoros Phokas the Elder

36. THEOPHANES 414-5, 420; NIKEPHOROS, Opuscula Historia
ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig (1880) 67, 70; R. GUILLAND,
'Patrices de Leon III a Michel II' B XL (1970) 324-5;
regarding the name, Sisinnios may be preferable to
Sisinnakios on the grounds of the seal of Sisinnios,
patrikios, and strategos of the Thrakesioi, G.
SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 699.

10th century -

10. The anonymous addressee of three letters from
the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos

11. Nikephoros Pastilas

12. (Symeon) Ampelas?

11th century -

13. Constantine Diogenes

14. Romanos Skleros

15. Andronikos Aronios

The first of these strategoi are only very slightly more than mere names. Sisinnakios, or Sisinnios - both versions are recorded - was made strategos of the Thrakesioi by Leo III. After Leo's death in June 741, Sisinnakios, together with Lankinos, strategos of the Anatolikoi, was persuaded to join Leo's son, Constantine V. The Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi were victorious in the civil war which followed, but Sisinnakios was given little opportunity to take advantage of his support for the winning side. In 743, after the conquest of Constantinople and the celebration of a triumph over the defeated rival Emperor, Artavasdos, Sisinnakios himself was arrested and blinded.[36]

These events underline the military strength of the

- 37. C.f. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 23, 32.
- 38. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 463.
- 39. SKYLITZES 426.
- 40. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 169.

Thrakesioi and the difficulties an Emperor could have in controlling it. The cavalry of the Thrakesioi formed a major part of the Byzantine army, and although this would decline in relative importance over the following centuries as successive Emperors raised new guard regiments and founded new themes, the Thrakesioi would still be a major military unit into the 11th century.[37] In April 958 the Thrakesioi together with the Boukellarioi and the Opsikion, can be found serving in the Balkans where they totally defeated a Magyar invasion;[38] in 1041 a section of the tagma of the Thrakesioi was part of the katepan's army in southern Italy;[39] and in 1074, 'the phalanx of the Asianoi' - a literary circumlocution for the tagma of the Thrakesioi - was an important contingent in the Imperial forces at the battle of Zompos.[40] The political importance of these troops and their commander should not be overlooked.

Theophanes' account gives no indication as to Sininnios' background or relationship to any of the Imperial claimants, but it is clear that in 741 his support had had to be bought by major bribes and concessions. It is not surprising that Constantine took the first opportunity to remove this powerful figure, and he no doubt chose his successor with great care.

Of the next strategos, Leo, it is only recorded that he was a patrikios - a very exalted rank in the 8th century - and that he was killed by the Bulgars in 760 when Constantine's army failed to force a way over the Haemus mountains at the Bergaba

41. THEOPHANES 431; G. SCHLUMBERGER, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits (sixième série) RN IV (1916) 298: the seal might refer to this Leo.
42. THEOPHANES 437-8.

pass.[41]

Twenty years into his reign, Constantine was still having difficulty with the theme commanders and their loyalty could not be assured. In 766 the summer campaign against Bulgaria was another disaster due to unseasonal foul weather. In the wake of this ill omened campaign Constantine had tried to divert attention by stage managing the ritual humiliation of iconodule monks in the hippodrome, but at the end of August a very serious plot to depose him was brought to light. This was claimed to involve 19 strategoi and senior officials, who were all promptly executed.[42]

The new strategos of the Thrakesioi was Michael Lakhanodrakon. Thanks to the very hostile iconodule writings of Theophanes and Stephen the deacon, Michael is one of the best known commanders of the theme. However their accounts are partial, and instead of the familiar image of the ruthless iconoclast fanatic it is equally important to see Michael Lakhanodrakon as a loyal and highly capable soldier and administrator, whose career marks something of a success in Imperial attempts to control the themes. The scarcity of evidence is certainly distorting, but in the surviving sources his period of office may even suggest the opening of a new stage in relations between the Emperor and the strategoi - one which came closer to the ideal expressed in Leo VI's Novel.

43. ibid. 440, 445-6, 451; 'Vita Stephani Iunioris' PG C, 1164-5.
44. THEOPHANES 456.
45. ibid.
46. E. W. BROOKS, 'Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids' EHR XV (1900) 737-9; R.-J. LILIE, Die byzantinische Reaktion 173-5.

Michael was strategos of the Thrakesioi for 16 years, energetically fighting the Arabs and the Bulgars, and persecuting the iconodule enemy within.[43] After Constantine V's death in 775, he continued to be commander of the Thrakesioi under the new Emperor, Leo IV, and into the early years of the reign of Constantine VI and Eirene.[44] The new Iconodule Empress was probably looking to dismiss such a prominent iconoclast strategos as Michael Lachanodrakon, and the opportunity appears to have come in 782. In that year the future Caliph, Harun al-Rashid, launched a major assault on the Empire, aiming it would seem at Constantinople itself. While Harun pressed on to Chrysopolis and one army corps held the northern flank of the plateau, another was sent towards the western Asia Minor coastlands. Michael Lachanodrakon and the Thrakesioi were forced to give battle. According to Theophanes, the ensuing bloody struggle half the Thrakesioi were killed.[45]

In the event the Arabs could not press home their advantage and Harun's army became trapped in Asia Minor. Only the desertion of Tatzatios, the Armenian Strategos of the Boukellarioi, and a Byzantine blunder which allowed Harun to hold a number of very senior generals and officials hostage, allowed the Arabs to return to Syria bearing their booty.[46]

The slaughter of the Thrakesioi would have weakened Michael's position just as the temporary easing of the Arab threat made his military expertise for the moment

- 47. ibid. 176-8.
- 48. THEOPHANES 466.
- 49. ibid. 466, 468.

dispensable.[47] Shortly after this, and well before 786, when the the themes were clearly under reliable, iconodule command, Eirene must have removed him from office.

Michael is next recorded in 790 when Constantine VI rebelled against his mother, and he seems to have been one of the young Emperor's chief supporters. Theophanes describes how the rebellion began with the themes overthrowing their strategoi.[48] Evidently Michael's replacement in the Thrakesion must have been both a reliable supporter of Eirene and her iconodule reaction, and equally someone without any strong local support.

In 790 Michael was entrusted with the critical task of bringing the Armeniakoi on to Constantine's side. In this he was successful and he was duely promoted from patrikios to magistros, and possibly domestic of the scholai. Unfortunately he did not survive long enough under the new regime to show how the relationship with Constantine VI would have progressed. On the 20 July 792 he was killed fighting the Bulgars.[49]

The sources do not give any direct information on either Michael's background or family, but a number of details which they do record of his career can show that he was not a countryman of the Thrakesioi and that his power did not depend on local support.

As strategos of the Thrakesioi he made himself for the

50. ibid. 445-6; 'Vita Stephani Iunioris', 1164-5.
51. THEOPHANES 466, 468; W. E. KAEGI, Byzantine Military Unrest 236, 326-30.
52. E. PATLAGEAN, 'Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IXe-Xe siècles' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 29, and 23-43 passim.

future an iconoclast bogeyman by his ruthless execution of Imperial orders to attack monks and monasteries.[50] Given the vital role of these institutions in local society, this constituted an attack not only on a belief but on a whole network of spiritual and financial investments. A strategos whose power depended on local support would have to have temporized; Michael Lachanodrakon could clearly afford to defy local opinion.

This can be confirmed by his actions between 790 and 792. He made no appeal to the Thrakesioi but instead turned to the Armeniakoi who in the 8th century tended to be on the opposite political side; after Constantine's victory he was rewarded by a post in the Imperial court far from western Asia Minor.[51] His control of the Thrakesioi in the years following 766 was the result of his access to Imperial power, not the reverse.

It is not known whether Michael was in any way related to the Isaurian Imperial family but he was clearly part of an inner circle close to Constantine V, Leo IV and then Constantine VI, and as such he is typical of the kind of men who would command the Thrakesioi for the next three centuries. His rather curious name, Lachanodrakon, 'caterpillar', also fits in this context. As E. Patlagean has pointed out, nicknames like this were common among the close circle of soldiers and officials at the Imperial court. Others, as for example Choïrosphaktes, 'pig-killer', went on to become respected family names; that of Lachanodrakon, tainted by Iconoclasm, disappeared from use.[52]

53. THEOPHANES 474.
54. H. ACARYAN, Hayoc' Anjnanunneri Bararan Beirut (1972) V, 74-107; e.g. ibid. 438, 445, 470-1, 474; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 6; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals, nr. 1749: Bardanes, Spatharios, protostator; DO 55.1.712: Bardanes, strator; DO 58.106.4070: Bardanes, hypatos, spatharios, protostrator; DO 58.106.2016: Bardanes s[], tourmarch; F 2754: (Ba)rd(ani)os, • protospatharios, domestic of []; V. LAURENT, Vatican 18, nr. 24: Bardanes, koubikoularios, papias; several of these seals bear similar marial monograms on the obverse, but without personal examination one cannot suggest if one or more belonged to the same individual.
55. THEOPHANES 438.
56. ibid. 445.
57. ibid. 470-1.

The next strategos about whom anything is known is Bardanes, whom Thophanes describes taking part in the Empress Eirene's triumphal procession from the church of the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday 799. As an Empress, instead of riding a splendidly caparisoned horse, Eirene was carried in a golden chariot drawn by four horses led by four patrikioi, who included Bardanes, strategos of the Thrakesioi.[53]

That is strictly all the sources say about Bardanes. Although not as common a name as Bardas, Bardanes or Bardanios, from the Armenian Vardan, was quite widespread amongst the Armenian related military and official circles of Byzantium. There are at least twelve references to the name in the half century either side of 800.[54]

Amongst these references it is quite possible that the patrikios Bardanes, whose son was executed in the purge of 766,[55] was the same Bardanes who was strategos of the Armeniakoi in 772.[56] Just possibly, he could also have been the Bardanes, patrikios and domestic of the scholai, who was sent to arrest Abbot Plato, 24 years later in 796.[57] Michael Lachnodrakon's long career gives grounds for caution, but the latter identification seems to stretch this hypothetical Bardanes' career too far. The Bardanes of 766 was not a very young man. He already held the high rank of patrikios and he had a son old enough to be a spatharios and protostrator, and sufficiently important to be executed.

58. ibid. 474.
59. ibid. 479-80; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 6-7; GENESIOS 8-10.
60. See P. SPECK, Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer
fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft Munich
(1978).

These must remain unprovable possibilities, but it is certain that the Bardanes who was strategos of the Thrakesioi in 799 was none of these men.[58] Age again and iconoclast sympathies would seem to rule out the first two, while the Bardanes of 796 is out of the question because Eirene could hardly have dismissed him as domestic of the scholai only to re-appoint him to the lesser but still powerful post of strategos of the Thrakesioi.

The only possible identification amongst the other known Bardanes is one with Bardanes Tourkos, the strategos of the Anatolikoi who rebelled against Nikephoros I in 803. This Bardanes was an iconodule and an enemy of the new Emperor, which suggests a former supporter of the Empress Eirene. A case can be made linking the two references into a coherent career, but the evidence surviving for the politics and prosopography of these years is too slight for this to be a very fruitful hypothesis.[59]

However as a general point it has been noticed that Eirene's reign seems to be characterized by an attempt to place senior military commands in secure political hands.[60] The contrast has been drawn between the role of such courtier eunuchs as Aetios and Staurakios, and the angry theme commanders, but the theme armies' rejection of their strategoi in 790 and Aetios' control of the Anatolikoi and the Opsikion in 801-2 does suggest

61. THEOPHANES 466, 475.
62. Several members of the Boilas family are known from the 10th and 11th centuries: see G. MORAVCSIK, Byzantinoturcica II, 93-4.
63. THEOPHANES 476-7, 479, 491; two later seals of the Triphyllios family are known: DO 58.106.5696: John Triphyllios, asekretis, judge of Thrace (probably late 10th century); DO 58.106.1855: Constantine Triphyllios, asekretis, strategos of Thrace (10th/11th century); also note a Constantine Triphyles who was a land-owner in Macedonia in 1097, LAVRA I, 275-8; J. LEFORT, Villages de Macédoine I, Paris (1982) 101.

that Eirene and her supporters were attempting a more general control of military commands.[61] Michael Lachanodrakon's successful career as strategos of the Thrakesioi showed the advantages of a politically dependable ally in such a post.

Of the four patrikoi who led Eirene's horses in the 799 procession, Constantine Boilas is otherwise unknown,[62] but the two Triphylloi, Niketas and Sisinnios, reappear several times in Theophanes' narrative as prominent supporters of Eirene's regime.[63] Bardanes' presence in the procession cannot be made into evidence for his background but it does underline the position of the strategos of the Thrakesioi at this date at the centre of Byzantine political life. At the least it is clear that the filling of this post would have been one of the Empress's major concerns. If she could impose a choice of candidates anywhere she would wish to do it in the Thrakesioi.

The pattern of appointment becomes more clear in the 9th century. All the strategoi can be shown to have owed their command to their place in the elite group close to the Emperor. Non shows any previous link with the Thrakesioi. In fact in the case of the first four 9th century strategoi they were all related to the ruling Emperor.

The first strategos, Bardas, was the nephew of the Emperor Leo V. He is known only from a passage in the Life of St. Theodore the Stoudite, written by Michael, another monk of the

64. 'Vita Theodori Studitae' PG XCIX, 204-5, 300.
65. SCRIPTOR INCERTUS, De Leone Bardae Armenii Filio
336, the 10th century sources add that he was brought
up at Pidra in the Anatolikon, GENESIOS 8, 36;
THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 6; K. BELKE, Galatien und
Lykaonien 215-6.
66. THEOPHANES 479-80; GNESIOS 8-10; THEOPHANES
CONTINUATUS

Stoudion. In about 820 when Theodore was in exile in the Thrakesioi, Bardas was lying ill in Smyrna close to death. In this state he turned for help to the iconodule holy man whom his iconoclast uncle had banished. In front of St. Theodore Bardas repented of his sins and was cured, but later, according to the hostile stoudite hagiographer, he returned to his Iconoclasm and in consequence died.[64]

The Emperor Leo V was an Armenian, the son of a certain Bardas the Armenian, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi.[65] Leo had at the beginning of his career served in the immediate entourage of Bardas Tourkos, strategos of the Anatolikoi, and himself also an Armenian.[66] It was from this background of Armenian soldiers and Imperial service that he rose to power. His nephew's Armenian name, and the fact that the relationship must have long pre-dated Leo's accession in 815, suggest that the strategos Bardas was part of the same Armenian group, and that he had been deliberately chosen by his uncle as a loyal and interested supporter to be placed in a key position. Both Bardas and Theodore would have been outsiders in the Thrakesioi and perhaps it was exactly that which brought them together as the strategos lay dying.

From the 820s onwards a greater body of evidence has been preserved than for the previous two hundred years and it is possible to discern, even if not to delineate with complete accuracy, a network of kinship and political alliance which

ed. A. Bryer, J. Herrin, 133-40.

68. 'Vita S. Ignatii' PG CV, 525.

69. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 175-6.

70. See n. 67 *supra*.

involved in a fairly narrow range of relationships nearly all the leading figures, including the strategoi of the Thrakesioi.

Although possibly not the most important, in the light of the surviving sources the most obvious aspect of this structure is the ties of kinship. Thus Petronas, strategos of the Thrakesioi in the mid 9th century under Michael III, had one nephew who was married to the daughter of Constantine Kontomytes, who had earlier been strategos of the Thrakesioi under Theophilos, and another niece who was married to Symbatios, said by the Vita Basilii to have been strategos of the Thrakesioi for a short period under Basil I.[67]

Kinship should certainly not be seen as determining political allegiance: Petronas championed Ignatios against Photios, his brother Bardas' candidate for the patriarchate;[68] Maria, one of Petronas' sisters, combined with his brother, Bardas, to depose their sister Theodora, from the Imperial throne.[69] Yet even these family feuds serve to highlight their shared interests, and the social and political arena they had in common. When the genealogy is extended sideways it links Theodora, the restorer of Orthodoxy, to the Iconoclast patriarch John the Grammanrian and he to the Iconodules, Tarasios and Photios. This is clearly the world of Constantinople and the Imperial court, rather than a aristocracy looking to its landed base in the provinces.[70]

71. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 89-90; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 790.
72. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 89-90; for other examples, Lekapenos: see infra ; Phokas: see I. DJURIC loc.cit. supra n. 33; Basil I: GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 819-21; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS

Petronas' family, which included the Empress Theodora and the Caesar Bardas, is said to have come from Paphlagonia, but beyond the brief notice of their patria in the chronicles, Paphlagonia deserved no further mention. In all their careers they appear as part of a ruling elite based in Constantinople.[71]

The family's success seems to have been almost wholly due to the marriage of Petronas' sister, Theodora, to the Emperor Theophilos. Why the Emperor chose her as his wife is nowhere recorded, but there is significantly no indication that it brought to Theophilos any land or influence in Paphlagonia, or any other province. Theodora's father, Marinos, is said by the 10th century continuator of Theophanes to have been ouk asemon tina e idioten ten tychen but that hardly implies great wealth. The same source says that Marinos was a "droungarios, or a tourmarch according to some", and it would seem likely that as in several other Byzantine examples, military service and hence attendance at court brought Marinos and his daughter to the Emperor's notice.[72]

Marinos appears to have played no further part in his family's lives and he may well have been dead before his daughter's Imperial marriage. Otherwise the careers of the rest of the family were clearly focused on Constantinople. Marinos' wife, Theoktiste, was created patrikia zoste, the highest female rank at court, by Theophilos. In Constantinople she founded the

73. ibid. 89-90; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 67-8;
CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 647-8.
74. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 204; GEORGE HARMARTOLOS, PG CX,
1124; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 199-202, 206-7.
75. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 793-4; THEOPHANES
CONTINUATUS 147, 174; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères
141.
76. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 793; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les
Listes 331; J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative
System 60-62.
77. F. HALKIN, 'Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas le
vainquer des Arabes en 863 'Texte inédit)' AB LXII (1944)
198, 215-8.

Gastria monastery in a house that she had bought from the patrikios Niketas in the Psamathia quarter in the south-west of the city. This monastery rather than anywhere in Paphlagonia was the spiritual home of the family. As well as Theoktiste herself, Theodora and three of her daughters, Petronas and Bardas and his daughter, Eirene, were all buried there.[73] Bardas had a house close to the church of Theotokos Hodegetria near the Imperial palace,[74] while both Petronas and his niece Thekla had houses in Blachernai near the famous church of the Virgin which the Emperor Theophilos particularly favoured and visited once a week.[75]

Petronas himself was certainly a Constantinopolitan by career. During Theophilos' reign (829-42) he was bound to stay in the city since he held the important Constantinopolitan command of droungarios of the watch.[76] The city was also the home of his spiritual father, St. Anthony the Younger. In the later 850s Petronas fell very seriously ill. He turned first to a monk at the nearby Blachernai monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian. This monk, called Ephraim, had long been Petronas' spiritual counsellor but recently his own faith had wavered and he had only been able to persevere with his vocation through the support of St. Anthony who also lived close to Blachernai. Thus with his patron on the verge of death Ephraim asked St. Anthony to intervene. The saint did so and Petronas was cured. As a result of this experience St. Anthony became Petronas' constant spiritual guide.[77]

78. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 180-83.
79. G. A. HUXLEY, 'The Emperor Michael III and the Battle of Bishop's Meadow (A.D. 863)' GRBS XVI (1975) 443-50; see also 'Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii, Mitylenae in insula Lesbo' AB XVIII (1899) 252: the account is unreliable and derivative, F. HALKIN 'Saint Antoine le jeune' 200 n. 4.
80. ibid. 218-20; the accuracy of the Life is of course relative to the demands of the hagiographic genre.
81. ibid. 195-6, 220-23.
82. See supra n. 32.

In 863 Petronas, by then strategos of the Thrakesioi, took part as one of the most senior commanders in the defence of Asia Minor against a major Arab invasion. The 10th century continuators of Theophanes describe Petronas as timing for advice to a hermit on mount Latros in the Maeander region who prophesied a great victory.[78] However G. A. Huxley has shown that the accounts given by these later sources of the 863 campaigns are very misleading.[79] Clearly the preferable source is the 9th century Life of St. Anthony. This describes how Petronas' spiritual father came from Constantinople to Ephesos to aid his spiritual son at this moment of crisis. According to the Life, it was the saint who urged Petronas to disregard the Emperor's orders to remain on the defensive instead to bring the Arabs to battle.[80]

The great victory which followed made the reputation of Petronas and to a lesser extent that of his spiritual advisor, but it involved no lasting connection with the Thrakesioi. Petronas soon gave up the command and returned to Constantinople where he installed St. Anthony in his Blachernai house. Both died shortly afterwards in about 865.[81]

The evidence for Petronas and his family makes it almost certain that they had no prior connection with the Thrakesioi. He was an outsider to the theme, just as Leo's novel, drawn up at the end of the century, was to envisage.[82] He was appointed as

83. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137, 175.
84. ibid. 156-7, 175, 340; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 498-9.
85. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 151, 156-7; R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 478.
86. See J. B. BURY, A History of the Eastern Roman Empire 156 n. 2; supra n. 67.
87. 'Vita Tarasii' 396; c.f. 'Vita S. Euphrosyne' AS Nov. III, 884.
88. 'Vita Tarasii' 403, 421; THEOPHANES 500; R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 480-81; IDEM, Eglises et Monastères 481-2.

a politically reliable member of the Emperors entourage linked to the regime in this case by close kinship ties.

Neither Constantine Kontomytes nor Symbatios are as well recorded as Petronas, but it is still possible to show that they were members of the same elite group centred on the Imperial court in Constantinople.

Constantine Kontomytes' place in this group can be inferred from the relationships of his extended family. His daughter married the magistros Bardas who was the son of the Patriarch Photios' uncle, the patrikios Arsaber, and of Maria, Petronas' sister.[83] The importance of Maria, the Empress' sister is evident enough, but the patrikios Arsaber was equally part of the network of Constantinopolitan families who staffed the senior ecclesiastical and secular posts. He himself had a house with porticos, baths and cisterns which later became the monastery of St. Phokas at Ortakoy on the European shore of the Bosphoros.[84] It was said that his natural brother was the Iconoclast Patriarch John the Grammarian, who also owned an estate near Ortakoy and was accused of practising sorcery in his brother's nearby house.[85] Arsaber's sister seems to have been Eirene, who married the brother of the Patriarch Tarasios and was the mother of the Patriarch Photios.[86] Tarasios, who was descended from a line of patrikioi,[87] also had a family estate in the same Ortakoy area where he built a monastery and was later buried.[88] Like Photios after him, Tarasios' early career was spent not in the church but working in the Imperial chancellry as

89. 'Vita Tarasii' 397; H. AHRWEILER, 'Sur la carrière de Photios avant son patriarcat' 349-55.
90. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137; E. W. BROOKS, 'The Arab Occupation of Crete' EHR CXI (1913) 437-8; c.f. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 89.
91. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 175; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 219-222, 246, 367; La Cronaca Siculo-Saracena di Cambridge con doppio testo Greco ed. G. Cozza-Luzi, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 4e Ser. II, Palermo (1890) 28, 101. •

a protoasecretis.[89]

Constantine Kontomytes was strategos of the Thrakesioi under Theophilos (829-42), and he achieved fame for one of the rare victories over the Cretan Arabs at this difficult period. However there is no certain date for the victory and hence not for the tenure of office either, but the most likely suggestion has been late in Theophilos' reign - 841.[90] Like Petronas, there is no question of Constantine being other than an outsider in the theme holding a temporary command. His presence in the Thrakesioi was only one stage in a career which centred on Constantinople. Constantine is next heard of in 859, far from western Asia Minor, as strategos of Sicily and it is then recorded that his daughter was married to Photios' cousin, the magistros Bardas.[91] The marriage would have brought him close to the ruling group around Michael III between 856 and 865, whose most prominent members were the Caesar Bardas and the Patriarch Photios. His commands in the Thrakesioi and Sicily simply reflect his membership of the Empire's ruling elite in Constantinople.

Symbatios' membership of the same ruling group is not in doubt. All the accounts agree that he was a patrikios, logothete of the dromos and married to the Caesar Bardas' daughter. His name, Symbatios or Smbat, suggests that he was of Armenian origin and it seems likely that he was part of the group of Armenian soldiers, officials and in general courtiers, living in

92. H. ACARYAN, Hayoc'Anjnanunneri Bararan IV, 537-65;
P. CHARANIS, The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire
Lisbon (1963) 21-8.
93. See R..J. H. JENKINS, 'The classical Background of the
Scriptores Post Theophonem' DOP VIII (1954) 13-30.
94. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 238, 240; Plateia Petra: see
supra 73.

Constantinople.[92] These included the future Emperor Basil I with whom Symbatios was closely involved in the assassination of the Caesar Bardas in April 865. However their alliance was shortlived and Symbatios soon rebelled against Basil's rise to power. This episode meant that Symbatios was bound to appear in the 10th century chronicles in a highly charged context which has obscured the facts of his career.

The Vita Basilii was produced in the mid 10th century to the orders of Basil's grandson, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos. It is a work deliberately intended to put the ruthless founder of the Macedonian dynasty in the best possible light, and thus has many of the idealizing characteristics of a secular hagiography.[93] According to the Vita Basilii, after the murder Symbatios became jealous of Basil's growing preeminence and refused to stay in Constantinople. Instead he asked for and was given the command of the Thrakesioi. At the same time another of the plotters, George Peganes, was appointed strategos of the Opsikion. Once in Asia Minor they both rebelled, but with no success. Symbatios was soon forced to surrender at the fortress of Plateia Petra and both rebels were taken to Constantinople where they were magnanimously pardoned and invited to the Imperial table. The Vita Basilii says no more but gives the impression that so reconciled they all lived happily ever after.[94]

The Logothete's chronicle, preserved in a number of variant

95. See H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur
II, 349-51, 354-7.
96. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 828, 833-4; PSEUDO
SYMEON MAGISTER 676, 680.

manuscripts, gives a different account.[95] Symbatios had joined the plot to assassinate the Caesar in the hope of inheriting his father-in-law's dominant position at the Imperial court. In consequence he was bitterly angered by Basil's success, particularly when his request to be made strategos of an unnamed theme was refused and he was dismissed from the office of logothete of the dromos. Symbatios then allied himself with another discontented plotter, George Peganes, who was already strategos of the Opsikion. However their rebellion was rapidly suppressed and the fleeing Symbatios was captured by Nikephoros Maleinos in an inn at Keltzene (Erzincan) on the western edge of Armenia. Both Symbatios and George Peganes were then taken back to Constantinople, savagely punished and paraded through the city in public humiliation.[96]

The Logothete's chronicle was written late in the 10th century, over a hundred years after the event, but it evidently preserves a more accurate account of Basil's bloody rise to power than the dissembling Vita Basilii. The latter's account strains credulity. A man who had murdered and betrayed his way to the Imperial throne would hardly either have shown mercy to a defeated rebel, or have been so naive in the first place as to provide such a discontented rival with the forces for a successful rebellion by appointing him to command the Thrakesioi.

Other details of the Logothete's account also appear convincing. If, as seems probable, Symbatios was an Armenian,

97. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 238.

then with only blinding and amputation to be expected in Constantinople, he would naturally have fled east towards independent Armenia - hence his arrest at Keltzene. The Vita Basilii's story of a last stand at Plateia Petra could well reflect no more than the knowledge that that was the theme's strongest fortress.

It is therefore unlikely that Symbatios ever was made strategos of the Thrakesioi. However even the Logothete notes that he had asked to be given the command of an unnamed theme.[97] Whether or not the Vita Basilii is a reliable account of events it is still found to reflect the assumptions of a well-informed Byzantine. To the authors of both accounts Symbatios was exactly the sort of person who would be appointed to an important theme command.

Symbatios would have been an outsider in the Thrakesioi: probably an Armenian, and a man who had made his career in court circles. If excluded from Constantinople he had nowhere to go but back to the mountains of Armenia. As such it seems that he was typical of a number of prominent figures at court, including Basil the future Emperor who rose to power via service in Constantinople first to a well connected Imperial official and then to the Emperor Michael himself; also Basil's nephew, Asylaon, who after 867 is recorded as having retired to his house in Constantinople where he was later murdered by his servants, or Constantine Toxaras, another of the plotters, who was rewarded by

98. See P. CHARANIS, loc.cit. n. 92 supra; N. ADONTZ, 'L'âge et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I (867-886)' B IX (1934) 228-30.
99. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 312-3, 357, 359-60; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 854-5; H. GREGOIRE, 'La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas' Prosphora eis stilpona P. Kypriakiden Thessalonika (1953) 250-2; Gregoire himself thought that the version contained in the 'Phokas family history' was unreliable, see ibid. 232-50.

promotion to strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai. The preeminence of these men, many of them Armenians, reflects their access to the Imperial court, rather than any landed base in the provinces.[98]

The last strategos of the 9th century was Nikephoros Phokas the elder, the second recorded member of this famous family. It is often doubted whether he in fact was strategos of the Thrakesioi, but since it is attested by those chronicles which draw on a Phokas family history there seems no strong reason to prefer the contrary account in the Logothete's chronicle.

Fragments of a Phokas family history have been preserved in Theophanes Continuatos Book VI and in the supplemented version of the Logothete's chronicle found in the Vatican manuscript, Vaticanus Graecus 153. According to this account, following a successful period spent in southern Italy during the later 880s, Nikephoros Phokas was recalled to take part in the Byzantine war with Bulgaria in the 890s. After one campaign he fell out with the Basileopater, Zaoutzes, who persuaded Leo VI to dismiss him. There followed a period of disgrace, but he was later recalled and given office as strategos of the Thrakesioi.[99]

The Phokades from Cappadocia have become in modern historical writing about Byzantium the most familiar example of a great military family whose power derived from a network of kin, clients and landed estates in their home province. By the later 10th century this certainly contained an element of truth, but in

100. ibid. 250-2; c.f. I. DJURIC loc.cit. supra n. 33.
101. NICHOLAS I, Letters 464-7, 510-13.
102. ibid. 510.
103. ibid. XV-XXVII.

the 9th century, on the contrary, it is far from clear that Cappadocian support played any significant role in the career of the elder Nikephoros Phokas.[100] Nikephoros always appears an able soldier whose contacts at the Imperial court won for him a series of high commands. Like Petronas and Symbatios before him, he would have been an outsider in the Thrakesion, imposed on the theme from Constantinople. The route to such a command lay in the Imperial court, not in the theme itself. There is no evidence to suggest that the Phokas family ever had a substantial interest in the provinces of western Asia Minor.

Little is known for certain about the strategoi of the 10th century. Between 912 and 925 the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos wrote two letters addressed to an anonymous strategos of the Thrakesioi; whether it is the same man addressed in each case is uncertain.[101] From both letters one can infer that their recipient knew Nicholas quite well, but this sense is strongest in the second where the strategos is called "a wise and God-loving archon and strategos who asks for the prayer of an old father." [102] Since Nicholas had spent most of his career in Constantinople, and gives no sign anywhere in his correspondence of having been to western Asia Minor, this apparent intimacy suggests a Constantinopolitan connection, but one should not press the point.[103]

The next attested strategos is Nikephoros Pastilas who went to Crete in 960 but was killed in a raiding party shortly after

104. LEO DIACONUS 8-10.
105. SKYLITZES 211; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 396; for Romanos Lekapenos see infra
106. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 151.
107. E.g. LEO DIACONUS 7, 24, 105, 111, 173; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 145, 147, 167, 259; ANNA COMNENA I, 63, 88, 113; ibid. III, 229.
108. See Notitia Dignitatum ed. O. Seeck, Berlin (1876) 5, 45-6; HIEROKLES 21-2; the civil administration of Asia did survive into the early Byzantine period and influenced some middle Byzantine terminology: see R.-J. LILIE, 'Thrakien und Thrakesion' 46; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang - und Ämterstruktur 121-2, 130, 136; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 117, 338; J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System III; PETER OF ATROA 124.

the army had landed.[104] Another member of the Pastilas family is known to have been a supporter of Romanos Lekapenos in 919, and he seems to have been a kinsman of John Toubakes, who was clearly one of Romanos' closest supporters. By 917-19 Romanos had been long established as a member of the Constantinopolitan elite and as commander of the Imperial fleet based in the city. It is likely that his closest supporters came from the same background, but there is insufficient evidence to prove this hypothesis and even less to speculate on Nikephoros Pastilas' place of origin.[105]

The final possible strategos of the Thrakesioi in the 10th century is a certain Ampelas who appears in the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos which was written late in the same century. The hagiographer tells us that the saint had no gold, silver, fine raiment nor wall-hangings; not because none were available but because he did not want them. "Ampelas and the other archontes of Asia" would have made him wealthy had he so wished.[106]

Starting with the identification of the "archontes of Asia", neither archon nor Asia has an exact definition in Byzantine useage. Asia was commonly used to indicate the eastern part of the Empire;[107] it could also be used to refer to western Asia Minor as opposed to central Anatolia, known as the east, the Anatole. This sense derived from late Roman administrative practice,[108] and had been maintained in

109. E.g. Notitiae Episcopatum 206, 310.
110. See Acts 6: 9, 16: 6, 19: 10, 31; Revelations 1: 4, 11.
111. See Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 14, 37, 81, 105, 129, 134-5, 145, 221, 239, 308, 537, 600, 657, 778, 779, 780, 781; the Synaxarium also uses Asia in a more general sense, ibid. 261, 347, 461, 729, 898.
112. See HIEROKLES Map II; infra
113. LEO DIACONUS 5; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 301.
114. PETER OF ATROA 69, 105, 125, 203; PAUL OF LATROS 105; LAZAROS 509, 521.
115. See M. ANGOLD, 'Archons and Dynasts: Local aristocracies and the cities of the later Byzantine Empire' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 237-8; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 342-3; A. P. KAZHDAN, A. W. EPSTEIN, Change in Byzantine Culture 62-3.

Byzantine useage partly through the current terminology of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, according to which Ephesos was the seat of the metropolitan of Asia,[109] and more important by the use of the term in the Bible[110] and in Byzantine hagiography.[111] In neither case did the original definition of Asia coincide with the boundaries of the Thrakesion,[112] but as centuries passed the association appeared quite natural and through the middle Byzantine period several authors used Asia as a synonym for the theme.[113] Among them were the authors of the Lives of St. Peter of Atroa in the 9th century, St. Paul of Latros in the 10th and St. Lazaros of Galesion in the 11th.[114] Almost certainly the author of the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos had the same sense in mind.

Archon can also raise problems of definition. There are signs that the term was being used in the 10th and 11th century to describe anyone who could be regarded as 'powerful'. However the primary meaning of the term, as used for example in Romanos I Lekapenos' chrysobull of 934, was someone who held an Imperial office. Prior to the increased prominence of theme judges in the 11th century this would generally have been applied to the officers of the theme army, and this is almost certainly who the hagiographer had in mind here.[115]

The Ampelas of the Life of St. Nikephoros is included among the archontes of Asia, but he is set apart by name. If they are the senior military officers of the theme then Ampelas may well

- 116. LEO DIACONUS 112-13; SKYLITZES 291-2.
- 117. LEO DIACONUS 113.
- 118. ibid. loc.cit.

have been their strategos. If so it is curious that the Life does not state this; however whatever his position the hagiographer evidently assumed that Ampelas was too well known to require further explanation.

The only Ampelas attested in the 10th century who might fit this description is a certain Symeon Ampelas, mentioned by Skylitzes and Leo the Deacon.[116] Symeon is described as a patrikios and a prominent supporter of Bardas Phokas. He was present when Bardas was proclaimed Emperor at Caesarea in Cappadocia in 970; later he deserted to Bardas Skleros and the Emperor John Tzimiskes, and the rebellion collapsed. This evidence alone shows him to have been a soldier but the case is made plain by Leo the Deacon who says of him that "by his courage and strength of his hands he yielded to no one in reputation for prowess and might"[117] - clearly qualities that could only apply to a military man.

Leo the Deacon also says that Symeon had reached his position not by any family influence - he was not of famous or noble birth - but had attained high rank through military achievement.[118] Since he was a close associate of Bardas Phokas in 970 the likelihood is that he had served in the theme armies and had come to the notice of one of the Phokades. In view of the Phokas dominance at court and among the eastern armies during the 950s and 960s which culminates in Nikephoros Phokas' seizure of the throne in 963, it would hardly be

119. See infra 401-24

surprising that a client of the Phokas family among the eastern armies would rise to high rank and office.

It would also be natural to find Symeon still holding a senior command after 970. His betrayal of Bardas Phokas had been decisive; he could expect no favour if the Phokades returned to power and his interest were now tied to the survival of an anti-Phokas regime. Symeon's rank of patrikios suggest a senior military command; the Thrakesion would be fully appropriate.

If this is the correct interpretation of rather meagre evidence, the career of Symeon Ampelas ironically echoes that of the elder Nikephoros Phokas in the late 9th and early 10th century. Conspicuous valour and military ability brought both to Imperial notice and thence to senior military command.

None of this material indicates where Ampelas came from. Even supposing the identity of Symeon with the patron of St. Nikephoros, the patronage of the saint need imply no local link. As with several figures mentioned in the 11th century Life of St. Lazaros, it seems to have been accepted for outsiders in the theme for a few years to visit the local holy man.[119] In this case the fact that St. Nikephoros was the ex-archbishop of Miletos must have added to the Saint's notereity.

There is some much later evidence that an Ampelas family did come from western Asia Minor. In the 1250s the monastery of

120. EP II, 194-5, 201, 205; MM IV, 231.
121. See PETER OF ATROIA 207; ANNA COMNENA III, 169-71; PLP nrs. 806-17.
122. W. M. RAMSAY, 'Preliminary Report to the Wilson Trustees on Exploration in Phrygia and Lycaonia' in Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire ed. W. M. Ramsay, Aberdeen (1906) 250-51; = MAMA I (1928) 139-40 nr. 260; K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 156.

St. John on Patmos obtained possession of the monastery of Christ the Saviour on Kos which had been founded by a certain Kyr Nikephoros Ampelas. The monastery was only endowed on a small scale. The date of the foundation is unrecorded, but for the founder's name to have been repeated in documents of the 1260s suggests that it was within the memory of one or two generations. Later in the 13th century a Constantine Ampelas is recorded as one of the inhabitants of the village of Neochorion near Smyrna.[120]

However, Ampelas, derived from Ampelon, a vineyard, was quite a common name throughout the Greek speaking parts of the Empire.[121] Leo the Deacon's explanation that as Symeon was a cultivator of vines, he was called Ampelas from the name of his work, is clearly not specific to Symeon but holds for the name in general. There is no reason to think that all those called Ampelas were related. Before the first world war W. M. Ramsay saw a 10th or 11th century inscription at the village of Dedeler, 55 kilometres north-east of Konya, which referred to the son of Anpelas (sic). Ramsay wanted to associate this with the patrikios Symeon.[122] The grounds for the identification are very slight but in fact no less than those linking the Ampelas family to western Asia Minor. Even supposing that Ampelas was strategos of the Thrakesioi, there is no need on the evidence available to make him an example of a locally recruited strategos.

123. SKYLITZES 352, 355-6, 365.
124. ibid. 373; V. LAURENT, Vatican 92-4; IDEM, 'Legendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines' EO XXXI (1932) 331 nr. 5; IDEM, 'Le thème byzantine de Serbie au XIe siècle' REB XV (1957) 189-91; V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, 'Eine byzantinische Beamtenurkunde aus Dubrovnik' BZ LXIX (1970) 17.
125. SKYLITZES 384.

More certain is the evidence for the first known strategos of the 11th century, Constantine Diogenes, who made his career as one of the most outstanding and successful of Basil II's generals in the later stages of his Bulgarian war.[123] Following the Byzantine victory in 1018, Constantine was appointed doux, anagrapheos and pronotes of Bulgaria, which gave him the most senior military and civilian command in the conquered territories. As such he is recorded as defeating a Patzinak invasion in 1025/6.[124] After the accession in November 1028 of Romanos III Argyros, to whom he was related by marriage, Constantine was removed from his Bulgarian commands and made doux of Thessalonika. Shortly afterwards he was accused of plotting a rebellion. To begin with no attempt was made to arrest or punish him, but instead he was transferred from Thessalonika to become Strategos of the Thrakesioi. There, soon after his arrival, he was arrested and taken to Constantinople where he was imprisoned. An attempt to escape to Illyricum failed and in despair Constantine committed suicide, beating his brains out against his prison wall.[125]

The only narrative source for these events is the Synopsis Historion of Skylitzes compiled at the end of the 11th century using earlier materials. Skylitzes does not mention Constantine's patria but other accounts which continue Skylitzes' work to cover the 1060s and 1070s describe his son, the Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes as a Cappadocian, and it seems likely that the father too was by origin a Cappadocian. However both

126. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 122; ZONARAS 685; the date of Romanos' coronation, 1st January 1068, was the feast day of St. Basil of Cappadocia, ATTALEIATES 101; Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 364-6; in the summer of the same year he appears to be associated with the Cappadocian troops during the Syrian campaign against Hierapolis, ATTALEIATES 133; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 130; at the battle of Manzikert the right wing of the Imperial army was commanded by a Cappadocian, Theodore Alyates, who is described as synethes toi basilei, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 115; the Cappadocians were also the last to flee, SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 149. After his release by Alp Arslan, Romanos went first to Cappadocia to raise an army in which Theodore Alyates was again a principal figure, ibid. 153; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 125 n. 5, 127; ZONARAS 704; ATTALEIATES 171; finally, after his defeat by Andronikos Doukas, Romanos retired from the Armeniakon back to Cappadocia and the fortress of Tyropoion where he made his last stand, SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 153, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 127, ZONARAS 706, ATTALEIATES 171; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien 297-8. This apparent Cappadocian support may however be due as much to his earlier command of the theme and to the inhabitants war-like abilities and political interests in the face of the Turkish invasion, G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 652 nr. 3; K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Byzantiaka Molybdoboulla tou en Athenais Ethnikou nomismartou Mouseiou Athens (1917) 354, nr. 622 a; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, op.cit. 84-105.
127. See infra 416 - 17 ; LAZAROS 536.
128. C.f. W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 79; V. LAURENT, Vatican 91.

Constantine and Romanos actually spent most of their active careers either at court or in the Balkas. Cappadocians may have played a prominent role in Romanos' reign,[126] but by contrast when Constantine attempted to escape from Constantinople shortly before his death it was to Illyricum that he headed rather than to Cappadocia. Evidently his best chance of asylum and support lay with the soldiers whom he had commanded with such success in the Balkans, rather than with any Cappadodian kinsmen. This would also explain his removal from Thessalonika and appointment to the Thrakesioi. Romanos Argyros must have feared that any attempt to arrest their famous commander would provoke a rebellion by the soldiers of the European armies. A transfer to the high ranking theme of the Thrakesioi would be difficult for Constantine to refuse, but once there he would be an outsider. Constantine must have had no previous link with the theme, and he was arrested before he could build up a following.

It is equally possible to demonstrate that the next known strategos of the Thrakesioi had had no prior attachment to the theme. Romanos Skleros is referred to as 'the strategos' in the Life of St. Lazaros of Galesion, written by one of the Saint's closest disciples, Gregory the Kellarites at mount Galesion within a very few years of the Saint's death in 1053.[127] In the mistaken belief that Ephesos and the whole of the west coast of Asia Minor was part of the theme of Samos it has been understood that Romanos was strategos of Samos.[128] However since it has been shown that mount Galesion, Ephesos and the

- 129. See supra 276 - 84.
- 130. LAZAROS 536.
- 131. ibid. 584.
- 132. ibid. 579.

coastal district was part of the Thrakesion, and since also throughout the Life of St. Lazaros the Thrakesion is regarded as the 'home theme', it follows that Romanos is much more likely to have been strategos of the Thrakesioi. Had Romanos been a visitor from Samos, Gregory would almost certainly have made this clear.[129]

The Life also provides quite good evidence with which to date his period of office. Romanos Skleros is described as visiting the saint and being struck by a blinding light as the holy father's sanctity is revealed to him. The passage is quite plainly intended to describe Romanos' first visit to the Saint.[130] Elsewhere in the Life we are informed that Romanos then told his sister, Maria Skleraina, of St. Lazaros and that through her brother she became a devotee. In turn she told her lover, the future Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos of this extraordinary holy man.[131] It therefore follows that if the Life is in anyway accurate, Romanos Skleros must have been strategos of the Thrakesioi before the earliest date at which it can be shown that Constantine Monomarchos knew of St. Lazaros.

That date can also be deduced from the Life of St. Lazaros, which contains a version of how Constantine Monomarchos, then in exile on the island of Lesbos, heard of his elevation to the Imperial throne.[132] The story, however, is contradicted by the monastic tradition of the Nea Moni on Chios, according to which the monastery's three founding fathers, Niketas, John and Joseph,

- 133. G. PHOTEINOS, Ta Neamonesia Chios (1865).
- 134. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni' 269-70;
C. BOURAS, Nea Moni on Chios Athens (1982) 25-8.
- 135. LAZAROS 578-9.

prophesied Constantine Monomarchos' good fortune, in return for which the future Emperor promised them generous support should their words come true.[133] Constantine IX's lavish patronage of the Nea Moni is well documented but in fact this lends only a specious credibility to the story. The Nea Moni tradition is only preserved through an undated account known as the Hellenikon Hypomnema, which in turn only survives because of its publication in 1804, but probably dates in its present form to no earlier than the 16th century. Even if the Hellenikon Hypomnema accurately reflects earlier tradition it is still not a very convincing account of this episode. The Nea Moni version has the vague and fanciful character of hagiographical topos. Prophecies of future greatness were a standard component of Byzantine saint's lives and in fact it would have been rather extraordinary if the tradition of the Nea Moni, a genuine beneficiary of Constantine Monomarchos' patronage, had failed to credit the monastery's founders with this achievement. However, whereas the Nea Moni's version reads like a convenient pious invention, the story given in the Life of St. Lazaros is too peculiar not to be true.[134]

In the Life the story appears as part of a lengthy account of the disreputable activities of an unnamed monk who three times ran away from the monastery, to live, from the point of view of Gregory the kellarites, as a fraudulent holy man.[135] On the second occasion he reached Bulgaria at the time of the Bulgarian revolt in 1040. All those who followed his advice were promptly

- 136. ibid. loc.cit.; see SKYLITZES 409-14; PSELLOS I,
76-82.
- 137. LAZAROS 579.
- 138. SKYLITZES 423.
- 139. LAZAROS 579.

led to defeat and destruction. First the Imperial strategos who had joined battle on a day and time chosen by the monk was killed and his army virtually annihilated; then, after the monk had fled to the rebels, they in turn were defeated and their commander, Delianos, was blinded by his rival, Alousianos.[136] After this disastrous escapade the monk returned to mount Galesion, where St. Lazaros received him back into the community, but shortly afterwards he left again.[137] As a result he happened to be in Smyrna in May 1042 when the news arrived that the exiled Constantine Monomarchos had been chosen by the porphyrogenita Zoe to be her husband and thus the next Emperor.[138] The monk seized the opportunity and boarded the first boat for Lesbos. He spent the crossing forging a letter from St. Lazaros to Constantine which prophesied the latter's elevation to the Imperial throne. On Lesbos, he was admitted to see Constantine Monomarchos who read the letter, and promised a great reward for the holy father if what he had written were to take place. In due course Constantine did become Emperor, and the monk set out for Constantinople to claim the reward, supposedly on behalf of St. Lazaros. Later he returned to Smyrna laden with gold, spices and grateful letters for the holy father. At this point there is a lacuna in the text but it is clear that by the time the monk finally made his way back to the monastery to be received for the third time he had squandered or lost all that he had received.[139]

The story of this roving monk is told in the context of

140. ibid. 577, 579.

141. ibid. 579.

142. ibid.

various criticisms made by members of the Galesion community that St. Lazaros too easily admitted unsuitable persons to be monks.[140] Gregory the kellarites tells the story in such a way as not to discredit the Holy Father, but the implication remains, and finally he has to resort to saying,

"If some enquiring person asks how it was that the Holy Father received such a man back and how he did not know that he was again playing tricks, it does seem to me to raise a difficulty. For like Gehazi with Elisha and Judas with Christ, he was betrayed by one of his own disciples. We have heard this many times of the Apostles but never does anyone think of blaming these men of God for living with the wicked ..."[141]

Despite this disclaimer it is still plain that the episode does not show St. Lazaros in a good light. It shows dissension among the monks, reveals criticism of the Holy Father and shows that Gregory himself had doubts as to St. Lazaros' wisdom in this matter. The full implications of the story and of Gregory's desire to record it are probably only to be understood in the context of the now unknowable internal politics of the monastery, both during St. Lazaros' lifetime and after his death when the Life was being written. Later hagiographers of St. Lazaros were disturbed by the story, and in the late 13th century Life by Gregory of Cyprus and in the Synexarion version it has been replaced by a conventional tale of how St. Lazaros prophesied Constantine Monomarchos' elevation and how this brought Imperial patronage to the monastery.[142] For such a discreditable story to have been included in the original Life by someone who was present at Galesion when the events took place, it must have been essentially true. It can therefore be used as a fixed point to

143. KEKAUMENOS 49, 63; CYRIL PHILEOTES 112-17; P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century' in The Byzantine Saint 54-5, 56-8.
144. PSELLOS I, 142.
145. ibid. I, 126; SKYLITZES 423.

establish the chronology of the developing relationship between St. Lazaros, Romans Skleros, his sister and the Emperor Constantine IX.

When the deceitful monk went to Lesbos in May 1042, he did not claim to act on his own account but rather pretended to be from St. Lazaros and he spent the journey forging a letter from the saint to Constantine Monomarchos. Gregory the kellarites was not simply wishing to imply that even this charlatan would not dare to make a prophecy in his own right, since he had done exactly that in Bulgaria; rather it must have been because St. Lazaros was already well known to Constantine. Wealthy Byzantines were frequently pestered by wandering monks and would-be holy men,[143] and the monk from Galesion would have decided that he had little chance of gaining access to Constantine Monomarchos on his own account.

Elsewhere the Life records that Constantine knew of St. Lazaros through Maria Skleraina - who in fact had joined Constantine in exile on Lesbos.[144] She in turn knew of the saint through her brother. It therefore follows that Romanos Skleros' first meeting with St. Lazaros, at which time he was strategos of the Thrakesioi, must have been before May 1042.

Constantine Monomarchos was exiled to Lesbos by John the Orphanotrophos at the beginning of Michael IV's reign in 1034.[145] He remained there for seven years. John the

- 146. PSELLOS I, 125.
- 147. Compare KEKAUMENOS 51.
- 148. See W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 66.
- 149. SKYLITZES 372, 388; see W. SEIBT, op.cit. 66-9.

Orphanotrophos and his brother, the Emperor Michael would have been well aware of the close relations between Constantine Monomarchos and the Skleros family. Constantine's second wife had been a Skleraina,[146] and he spent his exile on Lesbos in the company of his late wife's niece, Maria Skleraina. This arrangement does not seem to have raised difficulties, at least with Maria's brother, Romanos.[147] In view of this association Lesbos would hardly have been chosen as a place of exile if Romanos was strategos of the neighbouring theme, nor is it likely that he would have been appointed to the command at any time during these seven years. Romanos Skleros' period as strategos of the Thrakesioi must therefore have been before 1034, and presumably during the reign of Romanos III Argyros. The younger generations of the Skleros family had been tainted throughout the reigns of Basil II and his brother, Constantine VIII, by the memory of the revolt of Bardas Skleros, but the accession of Romanos in 1028 marked a restoration of their fortunes.[148] By 1033 their influence was declining, and the victory of their Paphlagonian rivals, Michael and John, was marked in that year by the arrest and blinding of Basil Skleros, accused of plotting against the Emperor.[149] Between 1028 and 1033, however, it is quite likely that Romanos Skleros was appointed strategos of the Thrakesioi.

This solution to the chronology of Romanos Skleros' career has generally been disregarded in part through ignorance of the Life of St. Lazaros and also because of the assumption that Maria

- 150. C.f. ibid. 77-9.
- 151. PSELLOS I, 141-3; SKYLITZES 434.
- 152. SKYLITZES 488, 495; see W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 79-85.

Skleraina, and thus her brother too, was no older than her early 20s in the 1030s. This can be contradicted by the fact that Maria had been married and widowed before she became Constantine Monomarchos' mistress, which in turn predated 1034.[150] Michael Psellos says that she chose to remain with him when he was sent into exile in that year, and there is every reason to believe him since it is hardly likely that the relationship began while he was on Lesbos. In the 1030s Maria could well have been in her 30s. All that Psellos and Skylitzes reveal on the subject is that she was younger than the aged Empress Zoe.[151] Indeed it Maria was fairly advanced in years it would help to explain Romanos Skleros' acceptance of his sister's relationship with Constantine Monomarchos.

The only other evidence for Romanos' age is that he was the most high ranking supporter of Isaac Comnenos in 1057 and that he was rewarded by promotion to the rank of curopalate and possibly commander-in-chief of the armies in the west.[152] There is no evidence that he lived long after 1057, and possibly the fact that he is not mentioned in any account of the Balkan campaigns of 1064 may suggest that he was already dead. It would fit all

153. C.f. ibid. 76-85.
154. SKYLITZES 316-7, 321; YAHYA 372-3, 377-8, 398, 401, 419, 421; STEPHEN OF TARON 56-7; note also Bardas Phokas' offer in 987 to divide the Empire with Bardas Skleros, leaving the latter Antioch, Phoinikia, Koile Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia: SKYLITZES 336; see J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, 'Byzantine Anzitenene' in Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia ed. S. MITCHELL, Oxford (1983) 249-50, 273 n. 62; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien 153, 300-1.
155. SKYLITZES 488.

the evidence if Romanos Skleros had been born c. 1000, was appointed strategos of the Thrakesioi in his 30s and died shortly after 1057, in his 60s.[153] In the light of this revised chronology it is possible to reassess Romanos' career in particular his relationship with the Thrakesioi.

Romanos Skleros was the great grandson of the famous rebel Bardas Skleros of the second half of the 10th century. His great grandfather's power and influence had been to a large extent dependent on the support of the peoples of the eastern frontier, and one should probably imagine that during his career Bardas Skleros had established a network of kin, clientage and landed estates in this border region. Certainly throughout the revolt Bardas Skleros' main base was Harput in the Hanzit, one of the principal fortresses of the eastern frontier.[154]

All this assemblage was destroyed by Bardas Skleros' defeat in the civil war, and instead Skylitzes declares that Romanos Skleros was "one of the archontes who have their dwelling in the theme of the Anatolikoi" - that is some 600 kilometres to the west.[155] In surviving sources Romanos Skleros is only recorded on these provincial estates when he was either explicitly or effectively in exile from Constantinople. Thus in the 1030s when the Skleros family had been ousted from the Imperial court by the Paphlagonian family of Michael IV and John the Orphanotrophe, Romanos Skleros is found in the Anatolikoi where George Maniakes seems to have been encouraged to make things difficult. Skylitzes records

156. ibid. 427.
157. ibid. 381, 387, 397-8, 401, 403, 406-7, 422, 425;
PSELLOS II, 1-3; W. FELIX, Byzanz und die islamische
Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert Vienna (1981) 42, 143-9.
158. PSELLOS SM II, 101-2; see W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 83
159. SKYLITZES 488.

that Romanos Skleros was actually forced out of the theme in fear of his life.[156] The incident is dated to between 1032 and 1037. It was not until Maniakes seized Edessa in 1032 that this young general came to anyone's notice; and in 1037 he left for Italy and does not appear to have ever returned to Asia Minor.[157] About twenty years later, after Constantine Monomarchos' death in 1055, Michael Psellos wrote a letter to Romanos who was then living in exile on his estates.[158] He was still there in 1057 when he joined the revolt against Michael VI.[159]

These estates in the Anatolikon may have underpinned his finances, but they were clearly no assurance of either high office or even local power, as his ignominious retreat from the Anatolikon in the face of George Maniakes' aggression shows. High office could only be obtained in Constantinople, where it would depend on his relations with the Emperor and his immediate advisors. Maria Skleraina's relationship with Constantine Monomarchos was no doubt an advantage to Romanos, but his prominent career was far from being simply the result of his sister's influence. The Skleroi were an important military and political family, whose fortunes in the 11th century were temporarily marred, first by the hostility of Basil II and Constantine VIII, and then by the success of their Paphlagonian rivals. Under Romanos Argyros between 1028 and 1033, and after the fall of Michael V in 1042, Romanos Skleros and other members of his family could expect high ranking military and civil

- 160. See W. SEIBT, op.cit. 65-85.
- 161. LAZAROS 536, 584.
- 162. See infra 417-20.
- 163. LAZAROS 584-5; PSELLOS I, 147; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'St. George of Mangana' 241-3.

appointments.[160]

If Romanos Skleros' appointment to command the Thrakesioi was not the reflection of great landed power in the Anatolikon, even less was it any result of influence in the Thrakesion. The Life of St. Lazaros does not imply that either he or his sister were local figures;[161] rather they are included as evidence of the Saint's high reputation and links with the world of Constantinople.[162] The Life also makes plain that Maria Skleraina's grants of land and money to the Galesion monastery were from Imperial rather than private family sources, and this is confirmed by Michael Psellos who says that Constantine Monomarchos granted to Maria an income from Imperial funds so that she could make grants.[163] In addition, the fact that Constantine Monomarchos was exiled to Lesbos argues that this was not a region of Skleros family influence. It also follows from Constantine's place of exile that Romanos' period of office in the Thrakesioi was not considered to have created a significant interest in his favour.

Romanos Skleros thus appears to fit into a pattern of strategoi appointed to the Thrakesioi from among an external ruling elite centred on Constantinople. Romanos and others from the same group held high office as part of a cursus honorum appropriate to their family and political influence.

- 164. See D. SIMON, Rechtsfindung am byzantinischen Reichsgericht Frankfurt (1973) 7.
- 165. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 177-8.
- 166. C.f. W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 76.
- 167. V. LAURENT, Vatican 91.
- 168. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 178.

Finally, there are two references to a Romanos Skleros in the Peira, a collection of legal cases compiled soon after 1040.[164] In the first the protospatharios Romanos Skleros is said to have attacked some villagers and held them to ransom; in the second, the episkeptites of the protospatharios Romanos Skleros is said to have illegally seized the animals and property of certain villagers and given them to others. In both cases the magistratos Eustathios Romaïos gave judgement against Romanos and he was severely fined.[165]

W. Seibt has expressed doubts that this was even the same Romanos Skleros, on the grounds that Maria's brother was only a young man in the 1040s,[166] but again the revised chronology for his career resolves this difficulty. Proof is lacking but it is reasonable to assume that this was the same man.

V. Laurent, writing earlier but taking the identification for granted, believed that the Peira was referring to Romanos' period of office as strategos and also that these judgements were reliable support for the hostile tradition preserved by Skylitzes.[167] In fact, however, in neither case is it clear whether Romanos is acting in an official or a private capacity, and the hostile interpretation is not the only one to be made.

In the first case the Peira gives no indication of context, but the second it refers explicitly to "the episkeptites of Romanos Skleros".[168] An episkeptites could have been an

169. See P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliate' REB XXXIX (1981) 53; IDEM, 'Le typikon du christ sauveur Pantocrator' XXXII (1974) 119-21, 11.1496, 1510, 1532: these appear to be groups of lay estates; see also EP II, 20; F. DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 151-2; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 312.
170. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV 174-8, 242.
171. See for example PAUL OF LATROS 135.

official responsible for the assessment and collection of revenue on an Imperial estate - and there were several in western Asia Minor during the 11th century - but episkeptites may equally have been employed by private landowners to run their scattered estates. The Peira's reference to "the episkeptites of Romanos Skleros" would make better sense if he were Romanos' private agent.[169]

The Skleroi stand out in the Peira for the number of times they are mentioned and for the fact that they always appear in a bad light.[170] This may be the deserved consequence of their crimes, but the fact that the Peira was compiled during the period of Paphlagonian rule when the Skleroi were outcasts at the Imperial court suggests the possibility that the Skleroi were being denigrated for political reasons. In both the cases recorded by the Peira there is an obvious alternative interpretation to that presumed by the magistros Eustathios Romanos' judgement. Byzantine villagers would naturally have been reluctant to pay their dues, whether official taxes or private rents, and Romanos Skleros' actions may simply have been attempts to extract perfectly legal revenue from defaulting villagers. Particularly in remote mountain regions, of which there were many in Asia Minor, such punitive measures are likely to have been familiar methods of tax and rent collection.[171]

In view of the Paphlagonian hostility to their Skleros rivals, and of Romanos' inability to hold his own in the

172. DO 58.106.111.
173. C. DIEHL, 'De la signification du titre de proedre à byzance' Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger Paris (1924) I, 113-17; Diehl's conclusions are supported by the more extensive sigillographic evidence now available: e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 253, 121-2; nr. 850, 448-9; nr. 876, 460 (see W. Seibt's note); nr. 891, 468; nr. 892, 468-9; nr. 933, 501; nr. 970, 527-8; nr. 1031, 566; nr. 1032, 566-7; nr. 1033, 567-8; nr. 1118, 620; nr. 1147, 643; see also EP I, 338, 344; LAVRA I, 258, 261-2; the high status of the title during the 1070s is illustrated by the figures of four protoproedroi surrounding the enthroned Nikephoros III Botaneiates in MS Coislin. 79 f. 2v, H. OMONT, Fac-similes des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VIe au XIe siècle Paris (1902) 32 and plate LXIV; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 123-32.

Anatolikon against George Maniakes, it is quite possible that Romanos Skleros was the victim of official persecution. If in these cases Romanos was endeavouring to collect revenue to which he was entitled and the Imperial judges repeatedly gave judgement against him, he would soon have found his local authority in his own land disintergrating. Such circumstances could well explain his retreat from the Anatolikon during the 1030s in fear for his life.

The two Peira cases, therefore, do not necessarily shed light on Romanos Skleros' period as strategos of the Thrakesioi, but they do again underline the importance of Constantinopolitan politics in provincial government and in the appointment of strategoi.

The last strategos about whom anything more than the name is known, was a certain Andronikos Aronios, whose seal has survived, naming him protoproedros and strategos of the Thrakesioi.^[172] The titles date his period of office to between the early 1060s and 1081. The terminus post quem is provided by the appearance of protoproedros as a court rank. It continued in use subject to a certain devaluation in status until about the mid 12th century. Several other strategoi and doukes are known to have been protoproedroi during these years, while the Turkish conquest and the fact that Comnenian commander of the Thrakesioi was a doux rather than a strategos provides a terminus ante quem.^[173]

- 174. ANNA COMNENA III, 88.
- 175. PSELLOS I, 79-82; ATTALEIATES 123; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 134.
- 176. See V. LAURENT, 'La prosopographie de l'empire byzantin', EO XXXIII (1934) 391-5.
- 177. SKYLITZES 255, 328-9, 350, 353, 359-60, 413.

During these two decades protoproedros was still a very exalted title, held only by the most senior officials and military commanders close to the Emperor in Constantinople. The title alone would have placed Andronikos Aronios in the highest court circles, but fortunately this can be confirmed through his surname, which is almost certain evidence that he was one of the descendants of the Bulgarian royal prince Aaron. Anna Comnena states that the Aronioi were a famous family and that they were related to the Bulgarian royal family.[174] Since Alousianos' son, Samuel, was called Samuel Alousianos in the Greek sources, it is a reasonable supposition that Aaron's descendants would have been named on the same pattern.[175] During the 11th century surnames became increasingly common among the Byzantine elite and it is likely that what was in one generation a patronymic, was continued by subsequent generations as a surname. The variants Aaron, Aronios, Aronios seem to be without significance.[176]

Aaron was one of the family names of the last Bulgarian royal dynasty before the Byzantine conquest, but the particular Aaron who gave his name to the Aronioi was the son of John Vladislav, the last basileos of 11th century Bulgaria.[177] After 1019 Aaron and his five brothers and two sisters moved to Constantinople where they were accepted into the Byzantine ruling elite. Of his three younger brothers, Traianos, Rodomir and Klimen, almost nothing is known, but the careers of his two elder brothers are quite well recorded. Prousianos was given the rank

178. ibid. 359-60, 372, 376, 384, 448.
179. ibid. 359-60, 41-4; LAZAROS 579; PSELLOS I, 79-83; but see also P. GAUTIER, 'le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 119.
180. SKYLITZES 448-54, 493-6; V. LAURENT, Orghidan 124; P. PEETERS, 'Vie de S. George l'hagiorite', AB XXXVI/XXXVII (1917-19) 135; M. LASCARIS 'Sceau de Radomir Aaron' Byzslav III (1931) 404-12; V. LAURENT, 'La prosopographie de l'empire byzantin' 392.
181. D. M. NICOL, 'Symbiosis and Intergration. Some Greco-Latin families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th centuries', Byzantinische Forschungen VII (1979) 113-35.

of magistros and appointed strategos of the Boukellerioi; however, in 1028 he was accused of plotting with the porphyrogenita Theodora, possibly with a view to marrying her and making himself Emperor. Michael IV imprisoned him in the Constantinopolitan Manual monastery where he became a monk in 1031.[178] Alousianos was made patrikios and sent east to be strategos of Theodosiupolis. In 1040 he abandoned his command and joined the Bulgarian rebellion; in less than a year he had betrayed the rebels to Michael IV on condition that he were promoted to the rank of magistros and given suitable honours. Nothing more is heard of him.[179] Aaron, by contrast, pursued a long and distinguished career in the Imperial service. Skylitzes refers to him in the 1040s and 1050s as doux of Vaspourakon, doux of Edessa and doux of Mesopotamia, and as commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces against the eastern rebels in 1057. Early in his career he may also have been strategos of Sebasteia, and he is last mentioned in the Life of St. George Hagiorites as Constantine X Doukas' ambassador to the king of Georgia.[180]

Aaron was a fully Byzantine aristocrat at the heart of 11th century Imperial politics. As with such later families as Raoul or Rogerios, who came to the Empire from the Norman world, Aaron's career is an impressive example of the way the Byzantine elite could assimilate foreigners who accepted their customs and were willing to provide loyal service to the Emperors.[181]

At various times Aaron had the high ranking court titles of

182. SKYLITZES 360.
183. ibid. 493.
184. ibid. 448.
185. P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 39; V. LAURENT, 'La prosopographie de l'empire byzantin' 392.
186. See P. LEMERLE, 'Roga et rente d'état' 77-100.
187. SKYLITZES 413; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 134.
188. SKYLITZES 360; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 219 and n. 7; PSELLOS SM I, 169; D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 58.
- 189.^a SKYLITZES 492-6; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 77; ZONARAS 660; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 108-11; there may also have been a link by marriage with the Kourkuas family: SKYLITZES 372.
190. ARISTAKES DE LASTIVERT, Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne trans. M. Canard, H. Berberian, Brussels (1973) 68, 89.

patrikios,[182] magistros,[183] vestes[184] and finally proedros.[185] These titles would have brought him a large official salary and given him a very prominent role in court ceremonies.[186] He also had ties of kinship with a number of the most important Byzantine families. His elder brother, Alousianos, had married someone with large estates in the Charsianon - possibly one of the Argyroi - and their daughter was the first wife of Romanos IV Diogenes;[187] his younger brother, Troian, was related by marriage to the Abalantes, Kontostephanos and Phokas families. Troian's daughter, Maria, married Andronikos Doukas, the nephew of the Emperor Constantine X, and was the mother of the future Empress Eirene Doukaina who married Alexios I Comnenos.[188] Aaron was also related to the Comneni via his sister Catharine, who was the wife of the Emperor Isaac I Comnenos. This latter relationship was of particular importance. In the will of Eustathios Boilas drawn up in 1059, Aaron is distinguished as the Emperor's brother-in-law. In 1057 Aaron had comanded the Imperial forces against Isaac's rebel army, even defeating him in pitched battle; in spite of this Isaac recognized his brother-in-law's ability and appointed him doux of Mesopotamia.[189]

Only one of Aaron's children is known for certain. His son Theodore was strategos of Taron in western Armenia and was killed fighting the Turks in the 1050s.[190] Anna Comnena mentions two further Aronioi, Radomir and another Theodore, who appear to have been Aaron's grandson by and illegitimate son. Both men, like

191. ANNA COMNENA II, 138; III, 14-16, 88-9, 91; M. LASCARIS, 'Sceau de Radomir Aaron' 404-12; DO 58.106. 3343.
192. M. LASCARIS op.cit. 406-7; THEOPHYLACT I, 124-5, P. PEETERS, 'Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale a l'époque byzantine' AB XL (1922) 273-4; KINNAMOS 284, 288; NIKETAS CHONIATES 144, 146-7.

their grandfather, were evidently part of the Byzantine ruling elite. Theodore is only known for certain for his part in the 1107 plot to murder Alexios I Comnenos, although he may possibly be the subject of an 11th century seal naming Theodore Aronios, protoproedros and doux; Radomir is well attested as an active and high ranking military commander.[191] Several other Aronioi are also known for this period but there is insufficient evidence to link them to other members of the family. These include a doux of Ani in 1042, a later 11th century recipient of two epigrams from Theophylact of Bulgaria who seems to have held a military command in Theophylact's diocese, an enigmatic prince Aronios who was resident in Mesopotamia in the early 12th century and a certain Isaac Aronios, who was an officer in the Varangian guard during the 1160s.[192]

In view of his surname, high rank and senior command, and the fact that he was active between c. 1060 and 1081, it is very likely that the Andronikos Aronios who was strategos of the Thrakesioi was either Aaron's son or grandson. Both are equally possible. In either case Andronikos would have been the descendant of one of the the most distinguished Byzantine generals and politicians of the mid 11th century. He would also have been related to a number of the most influential families of the Byzantine elite; in this company his Bulgarian royal blood would have been an added advantage.

- 193. See PEETERS, op.cit. 274 n. 1.
- 194. SKYLITZES 493-6.
- 195. ibid. 384.
- 196. ibid. 285; see C. MANGO, 'St. Anthusa of Mantineon and the family of Constantine V' AB C (1982) 405-6.

The provincial links of the Aronioi are obscure. The successive commands held on the eastern frontier point to a deliberate Imperial policy, isolating them from Bulgaria, and the presence of an Aronios in Mesopotamia in 1112, long after the Turkish conquest, suggests that some members of the family had established themselves there.[193] However, the conditions of the early 12th century were utterly different from those prevailing 50 years earlier and it seems more significant that in 1057 Aaron was opposed to the eastern rebels and appeared as the natural leader of a largely Macedonian and western army.[194] Skylitzes provides a small piece of evidence when he records that in 1031 "Prousianos was willingly tonsured as a monk and his mother was transferred from the monastery of Mantineon in the Boukellarion to the Thrakesion, and the patrikios Constantine Diogenes having been taken from prison was tonsured as a monk in the monastery of Stoudion".[195] Skylitzes' account is only a brief summary of political developments and he leaves the causal connection between these statements unexplained. However the monastery of Mantineon is known to have been a place of exile,[196] and the fact that Prousianos was willingly tonsured suggests that his mother's transfer may have been a concession. Hence there is the possibility that the mother of Prousianos and Aaron was being allowed to retire to an estate she owned in the Thrakesion.

The relationship between a political career in Constantinople and the possession of estates in the provinces

197. See supra 296.

198. See H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 67-78; N. OIKONOMIDES,
'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 148-50.

will be explored in the next chapter, but even if Aaron's mother did have such an estate its importance could not have been great. The fact that she was exiled there is proof that Romanos III considered her presence in the Thrakesion innocuous. Like Romanos Skleros in the 1030s or after 1055, away from the political world of Constantinople she could do no harm. Whether or not the Aronioi later owned any land in the theme, it should not divert attention from the fact that Andronikos Aronios' appointment to the command of the Thrakesioi is a reflection of his position in the Imperial elite. Andronikos may have had more previous contact with the theme than some of his predecessors, but otherwise he was another case of an outsider imposed on the Thrakesioi from Constantinople.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,[197] by the time Andronikos Aronios was appointed to the Thrakesioi in the later 11th century major administrative developments had taken place which drastically altered the scope of a strategos' responsibilities. From the second half of the 10th century onwards the increasing prosperity of Byzantine society, the related demand for more effective legal judgements and confirmations of rights, changes in military strategy and organization had combined with a growing supply of educational Constantinopolitan officials to encourage the development of a new civilian administration in the provinces.[198] As the careers of Romanos Skleros in the 1030s, and Andronikos Aronios later in the century prove, strategoi continued to be appointed,

199. See G. WEISS, Oströmische Beamte passim.
200. See P. GAUTIER, 'Deux manuscrits Pselliens: le Parisinus Graecus 1182 et le Laurentianus Graecus 57-40', REB XLIV (1986) 45-110; IDEM 'Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites ou déjà éditées' ibid. 111-97; K. SNIPES, 'A letter of Michael Psellos to Constantine the nephew of Michael Cerularios', GRBS XXII (1981) 89-107; G. WEISS, op.cit. 243-302; P. CANART, 'Nouveaux inédites de Michel Psellos', REB XXV (1967) 43-60; J. DARROUZES, 'Notes d'épistolographie et d'histoire de textes', REB XII (1954) 177-80.

but they tended to become purely military commands and the civil responsibilities were increasingly taken over by theme judges.

Throughout the Empire more evidence has survived for the theme judges than for the strategoi. They were a highly educated, letter-writing group who corresponded with each other and with their former teachers and fellow pupils. Their private correspondence fills the 11th century letter collections and their official papers have left behind great numbers of the lead seals which certified them.[199]

The best preserved letter collection of the 11th century is that of Michael Psellos,[200] and this has been usefully exploited in combination with other materials, to study the careers of judges, their networks of friendship, favouratism and patronage and their place within the world of elite culture. Such work has shown that irrespective of whether they had been born in Constantinople they were all educated in the schools of the Imperial capital, and Constantinople always remained the focus of their careers. Once educated and having served an apprenticeship in the entourage of a senior official and possibly in the Constantinopolitan courts, they were sent out, often still in their 20s, to govern the themes. The more successful and success needed good contacts at the Imperial court - soon returned to Constantinople to serve in the central government offices of finance and administration. Others remained as theme judges, but always on short term postings, moving from theme to

201. See G. WEISS, op.cit. 13-27.
202. ibid. 50-64; M. MULLETT, 'The Byzantine Letter in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition 90-92; F. TINNEFELD' Freundschaft in den Briefen des Michael Psellos. Theorie und Wirklichkeit', JÖB XXII (1973) 151-58; for examples of a sense of isolation away from the capital in 'barbaris' provinces, see SATHAS MB V, Ep. 26, 261; Ep. 33, 268; P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos inedites', Ep. 11, 144-5.

theme. The seal evidence is particularly clear that a career as a judge involved serving in a number of different themes, often in widely separated parts of the Empire. Neither individuals nor families could expect long tenure of the same theme.[201]

In their provincial postings, ranging from Armenia to the western Balkans, the judges kept in touch with Constantinopolitan friends, exchanging highly polished and literary letters, and hoping to be recalled to an appointment in the capital. Many, possibly even most, judges had been born in Constantinople, but even for those who had first come to the city to be educated, Constantinople remained the centre of their world. Not only did their friends live there but it was the dominant centre of the literary culture to which they subscribed and the source of all official preferment. [202]

The authority of the theme judges was immense. They had taken over the extensive civil responsibilities of the strategoi, but they had done so at a time when demand for such jurisdiction was growing. Cases of land and inheritance, taxation and boundary disputes all came before the judge, who in consequence had at his disposal considerable scope for patronage. The letters reveal how this was operated in favour of both local petitions and Constantinopolitan friends who had landed interests in the theme. Indeed contemporaries regarded a period spent as a theme judge as an important means of building up a personal fortune; however the letters also show that the judges were concerned to spend this fortune in Constantinople rather than to

203. See supra 296 ; G. WEISS, Oströmische Beamte 50-64; for the patronage network see for example, SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 20, 258; Ep. 100, 343; Ep. 119, 367; PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 86, 114; Eps. 126-7, 150-51; Ep. 154, 177; for a judge expects to make a profit out of his period of office, see ibid. Ep. 55, 88.

establish a major following in the provinces. A young judge would hope to make a reasonable profit on his period of office and then return to the comforts of the Imperial city.[203]

As with the strategoi of the Thrakesioi, a great number of the theme's judges are only recorded by a single name and title, and of these it is still impossible to say very much; however, there are a number of judges of the Thrakesioi about whom more evidence has survived, and the careers and backgrounds of these men confirm for the Thrakesioi what has been observed of judges in studies of the Empire as a whole.

The best known judge of the Thrakesioi is Michael Psellos himself who was the theme judge for a short period, early in his career. Michael Psellos was born in Constantinople in 1018. Later in life he would pretend that he was from an ancient and famous lineage, including many patrikioi, but his own writings reveal the truth. The Pselloi were a middle ranking Constantinopolitan family, with guild connections and possibly once silver smiths, but certainly never wealthy or distinguished. Michael Psellos was educated with a legal career in mind, and after ten years primary and secondary education, he left Constantinople for the first time in 1034 aged 16 as one of the entourage of a theme judge setting out to take up office in Macedonia and Thrace. Quite soon Psellos was appointed judge in his own right. Before 1041 when he returned to Constantinople to join the Imperial chancellery, he had aged 23 already served as judge of the

204. See G. WEISS op.cit. 21-5, 77-90; see also P. GAUTIER, REB XXXIII (1975) 326-7; Weiss is mistaken in thinking that Psellos was also judge of the Armeniakoi; pretensions to distinguished ancestry: SATHAS, MB V, 9; judge of the Thrakesioi: ibid. Ep. 180, 459-60; the Boukellarioi: PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 65, 99.
205. SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 29, 264; PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 124, 148-9; Ep. 250-51, 299-300; H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles'. ZRVI X (1967) 26-7; G. WEISS, op.cit. 77-90.
206. P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos' 179-80.
207. PSELLOS, MB V, Ep. 47, 279-80.
208. ibid. Ep. 51, 282-3.

Thrakesioi and the Boukellarioi.[204]

Later in his career Michael Psellos can be seen to have amassed a considerable fortune partly in estates and Charistikaria in the provinces, but this was wholly marginal to his real interests. His career turned on the developments of Constantinopolitan politics and he was a man who could only have been content in the capital.[205]

Several further judges of the Thrakesioi are known through Michael Psellos' letters. Unfortunately most of the judges who corresponded with Psellos cannot be otherwise identified, although a certain Sergios, to whom two letters as judge of the Thrakesioi have survived, was certainly one of Psellos' former pupils.[206] More important are the two letters addressed to a Xeros judge of the theme. One is a request on behalf of a recently appointed notarios in the theme;[207] the other is a more literary letter apologizing for failure to write more often.[208] The second, calling Xeros "most exalted proedros and beloved brother", is particularly revealing of their shared culture. Psellos clearly revelled in the display of his knowledge, and expected Xeros to appreciate it.

The Xeros family is well known, and apart from these letters a great deal of other evidence has survived to shed light on their activities. The particular addressee of Michael Psellos cannot as yet be identified, but in general the Xeroi were a

209. E.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 327, 156-7; IDEM, Vatican nr. 111, 112-14.
210. See the remarks, of great importance for Byzantine prosopography, in A. KAZHDAN, J. LJUBARSKIJ. 'Basile Malèses encore une fois', Byz Slav XXXIV (1973) 219-20; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'The Usual Lead Seal' DOP XXXVII (1983) 147-57.
211. N. BEES, 'Zur Sigillographie der Themen Peloponnes und Hellas' VV XXI (1914) 195-6; V. LAURENT, Vatican 114.
212. See V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 7, 7-8; nr. 327, 156-7; G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 191; St. Panteleemon 57-8.
213. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 48, 188-9.
214. N. P. LICHACEV, Istoričeskoe značenie italogrečeskoj ikonopisi izobrazenija Bogomaleri St. Petersburg (1911) Appedix nr. 23, 30; DO 55.1.3412; F2222.
215. Laura I, 273-4; Esphigmenou 55, 57-8; F. DOCKER, Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges Munich (1948) nr. 120.
216. DO 55.1.3404.
217. N. P. LICHACEV, op.cit. Apendix, nr. 17, 35; V. LAURENT, 'Les bulles metrique dans la sigillographie byzantine', Hellenika V (1932) nr. 260, 150.
218. SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 47, 279-80; Ep. 51, 282-3.
219. See infra nn. 220-23.
220. E. KURTZ, Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios Leipzig (1903) 12-13, n. 20; E. FOLLIERI, 'Le Poesi di Cristoforo Mitileneo come fonte storica' ZRVI VIII (1964) 142.

large and distinguished family, who could have been expected to produce theme judges.[209]

The significance of the Xeros family has in the past been obscured by two major errors. One, so common in Byzantine prosopography, has been the merging of evidently separate individuals into imaginary conglomerate careers;[210] the other, possibly more serious, has been to imagine that the Xeroi were a provincial dynasty from Greece.[211] There was not a single very successful individual called Basil Xeros and another called John Xeros, but at least four Basils and probably two Johns. It is not a case of two extraordinary men, but of a family which had established itself in the Empire's civil government and administration. Throughout the 11th and early 12th century members of the Xeros family are frequently found as officials, above all in the chancellery and the Genikon,[212] and as judges, both in Constantinopolitan courts[213] and sent out into the provinces. Away from the capital Xeroi are recorded as judges of the Anatolikoi,[214] the joint theme of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonika,[215] the Boukellarioi,[216] the Kibyrrhaiotai,[217] the Thrakesioi - as known from Michael Psellos' letters[218] - and of Hellas and the Peloponnese.[219]

The latter post does appear more frequently in the surviving evidence than the others. As well as one Basil Xeros, a judge of Hellas in the 1040s who won Christopher of Mitylene's opprobrium by his harsh exactions in the theme,[220] another Basil

221. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigilographie 715 nr. 2; DO 55.1. 3407/8.
222. V. LAURENT, Vatican nr. 111, 112-4.
223. 'Vita Meletii' ed. B. Vasilevskii, Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik VI/2 (1886) 59-60.
224. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 327, 156-7.

was also judge in the 1080s,[221] a John Xeros was dioketes of the Peloponnese; [222] while in the Life of St. Meletios, the saint is recorded as prophesying the approaching end of a John Xeros, who may or may not have been the same man, and who the Life refers to as Peloponnēsion ta prōta pheromenoi. [223]

This has been interpreted as evidence that the Xeroi were a provincial family from this region of Greece, but in fact the Life is only referring to a senior official, such as a dioiketes for example, who could have come from anywhere. Hellas and the Peloponnese is well represented in the evidence for the Xeros family, but this should be set against the fact that because Greece was not conquered by the Turks in the 11th century and has mostly remained christian and Greek speaking to the present day, more seals, documents and saints' lives have been preserved from this region than for other parts of the Byzantine world. When this bias in the surviving sources is taken into account it is no longer of great significance that several members of this large family served in the theme. In theory they are just as likely to have had provincial origins in any of the other themes the various Xeroi administered.

In fact however the evidence is quite that whatever distant provincial origins the Xeroi may have had, in the 11th century they were a Constantinopolitan family. Their most successful members in that period included Basil Xeros who was proedros and logothete of the Genikon,[224] the magistros Xeros whose

225. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 48.
226. ANNA COMNENA III, 70.
227. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 7, 7-8; St. Panteléemon 57-8; J. BIDEZ, Michel Psellos Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs VI, Brussels (1928) 207; the protonobelissimos John Xeros dates from the late 12th century and is not the same man, W. SEIBT, Österreich nr. 155, 290-92; c.f. V. LAURENT, Vatican 113.
228. See P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 281-308; IDEM, Cinq Etudes 207-8, 227-35, 241-2; W. WOLSKA-CONUS, 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', TM VI (1976) 237-8, 242-3; IDEM 'L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit a Byzance au IXe siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos' TM VII (1979) 1-103; some secondary education was available outside Constantinople, but its scope appears to have been limited and it was recognized that aspirants to high office needed an education in the capital, SATHAS, MB IV, 426-9; P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliat' 12, 19-21.
229. E.g. the career of Michael Ataleiates and his son Theodore: P. GAUTIER, op.cit. 17-19, 27-30, 117; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 119.
230. C.f. V. LAURENT, Vatican 113.
231. DO 55.1.3412.
232. N. P. LIKHACEV, Istoričeskoe Appendix, nr. 17, 35 and plate VIII.

judgements are quoted in the Peira,[225] the Xeros who before falling from grace in the Anemas plot was eparch of the city,[226] and, perhaps most notable of all, John Xeros, who headed the Imperial chancellry in the 1070s as protoasekretis and protomystikos, and bore the rank of protoproedros.[227] Such posts entailed their holders living in Constantinople, and since one could hardly have reached these heights without the necessary education and experience - both only obtainable in Constantinople - or without influential backing, they must have lived in the Imperial city for some time.[228] It follows from this that their families would have been born in Constantinople and so the next generation of judges and officials would in due course have been educated there.[229]

Although it was probably the common pattern, the evidence has not survived to show one of the Xeroi serving first as a theme judge and then returning to Constantinople to take up a post in central government.[230] However the evidence does show at least one member of the family leaving a post as a theme judge to become theme judge elsewhere. The Xeros whose first seal omits his first name and describes him as spatharios, chrysotriklinos and judge of the hippodrome and the Anatolikoi, bearing an image of the enthroned Theotokos on the obverse,[231] is the same Xeros whose seal, again with no first name, but with the same layout on the die and same image of the enthroned Theotokos, reads magistros and judge of the Kibyrrhaiotai.[232]

233. DO 59.109.2476; DO 55.1.3055.
234. See V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 846, 447; nrs. 849-50, 448-9; nr. 882, 463; nr. 1031, 566; IDEM, Vatican nr. 83, 72-3; EO I, 347-9; DO 55.3052, F330: John Hexamilites, patrikios, hypatos, judge of the hippodrome and the Opsikion; DO 58.106.5507: Michael Hexamilites, kensor, judge of Paphlagonia; George Hexamilites: J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 46, 376-7; he may be the judge of the Aegean addressed in other letters, ibid. Ep. 40, 372-3; Ep. 47-8, 377-8.
235. P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos' 179.
236. See V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 229.
237. E.g. P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliat' 12; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 76 n. 8; c.f. E. TSOLAKES, 'Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates', BZ LVIII (1965) 5-6.
238. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 229-31; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. X, nr. 53 et passim; PSEUDO SYMEON MAGISTER 615; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I, nr. 270, 347-8; nr. 2532, 1370 (dioketes).

Another judge of the Thrakesioi, who appears by his rank to have held office in the 1060s or 1070s, was Sergios Hexamilities.[233] The Hexamilitai were a similar Constantinopolitan family to the Xeroi, serving in the central government offices and as judges of the themes.[234] It is possible that Sergios Hexamilites was the Sergios of Michael Psellos' letter to a judge of the Thrakesioi of that name,[235] but otherwise the Hexamilitai do not appear among Psellos' correspondants. However they are well attested by seals, document witness lists and other references.

Sergios Hexamilites' status as an outsider among the Thrakesioi can be inferred on both general and particular grounds. On the former various Hexamilitai, like the Xeroi, are recorded as judges of the Constantinopolitan courts of the velum and the hippodrome, and as officials of the central government bureaux, resident in the capital. As with the Xeroi, a family could not have obtained such a concentration of high ranking posts in Constantinople over successive generations without having established a base of power, wealth and influence in the Imperial city. The family name is likely to derive from the town of Hexamilion on the Thracian side of the Dardanelles,[236] but, as with other Byzantine families, a surname derived from a place-name is no sure guide to their subsequent role.[237] Hexamilion in the 11th century was a small port and a minor bishopric, although earlier in the 8th century it had been the seat of a kommerkiarios.[238] Some such post may have lain behind the

239. P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator'
117.
240. IDEM, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos', 179 n. 1; G. WEISS,
Oströmische Beamte 71-6, 83-9.
241. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 882, 463.
242. DO 55.1.3055.
243. DO 59.109.2476.
244. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 849, 448.
245. ibid. nr. 850, 448-9.
- 246.⁹ See supra n. 173.

family's original rise, but by the later 11th century Hexamilion was certainly no longer the centre of their interests. During this period the port was owned by the Synadenos family from whom it passed to John II Comnenos' foundation of Christ Pantokrator.[239] Nothing in this should divert attention from Constantinople as the family's home and the source of their power.

Sergios Hexamilites himself is one of the best known men of his generation outside the Imperial family; and his career well illustrates the way in which a theme could be governed by men who otherwise spent their lives in Constantinople. Sergios was probably born in the 1020s or 1030s. Whether or not his teacher was Michael Psellos, Sergios would have been educated in Constantinople at a time when Psellos was active in the Schools.[240] His earliest surviving seal shows him as a protospatharios, an Imperial notary and a judge of the hippodrome;[241] he was next promoted to the rank of vestes and raised to the senior Constantinopolitan court of the velum. At this point, probably in the 1060s or early 1070s, he was sent out from Constantinople to be judge of the Thrakesioi.[242] Whilst there he was made vestarch,[243] and after his return to Constantinople[244] he was further promoted to the rank of protoproedros.[245] Sergios held this rank in the 1070s when a protoproedros was one of the most senior figures in the order of precedence; and it is clear that he was one of those closest to the Imperial throne.[246] His importance was confirmed, first

247. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1031, 566; DO 59.109.2475; N. OIKONOMIDES 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 135.
248. ibid. 132-3; C. DIEHL, 'Un haut fonctionnaire byzantin: le logothete ton sekreton', Mélanges N. Jorga Paris (1933) 217-29; the earliest reference to the logothete does not give a name, and Sergios is first attested at the trial of John Italos in March 1082: Lavra I, 240; T. H. USPENSKIJ, 'Deloproizvodstvo po obvieniyu Ioanna Itala v eresi', IRAİK II (1897) 42; Sergios is also attested in July of the same year: J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 296-8; it is therefore possible that he was not the first logothete of the Sekreta. (Gautier appears to have confused the year. A.M. 6590, indication 5, runs from 1st September 1081 to 31st August 1082: c.f. P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode des Blachernes' 238).
249. In May 1088 the logothete of the sekreta is described as Megaloepiphanestatos protonobelissimos, but the document, a pittakion of Anna Dalassena, gives no name, EP I, nr. 49A, 344; protonobelissimos would have been an appropriate promotion from protoproedros hence this could well have been Sergios Hexamilites. A praktikon drawn up in August 1088 was registered by an unnamed logothete of the Sekreta in the following March, EP II, nr. 51, 40: again this may still have been Sergios Hexamilites.
250. J. B. PITRA, Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta II, Rome (1868) 450; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode des Blachernes' 237-8.
251. DO 55.1.3043-4; patrikios, anthypatos.

when he was appointed dikaiophylax and eparch, which effectively placed him at the head of the government of Constantinople and its law courts,[247] and second, shortly after the coup which brought Alexios Comnenos to power in April 1081, when he was made overall head of the civil administration with the newly created post of logothete of sekreta.[248] It cannot be determined how long Sergios Hexamilites held this post,[249] although his successor is not attested until 1090.[250] Whatever the period of office, during that time he would have been among the most important figures of the Comnenian regime.

Sergios Hexamilites' career is only understandable in terms of an elite group of Constantinopolitan civil servants, whose power and interests were focused on the Imperial city. There can be no question that provincial support among the Thrakesioi did not play a significant part in either his career or that of his family, and consequently his appointment to be judge of the Thrakesioi was part of a cursus honorum focused on Constantinople. The Thrakesioi had as their judge a man passing through the theme on his way to higher office.

Other families are not so well documented as either the Hexamilitai or the Xeroi. The Gymnoi, for example, produced judges in the 11th and 12th century, including a certain Peter Gymnos who was judge of the Thrakesioi probably in the first half of the 11th century.[251] The evidence has not survived to demonstrate anything of their background. The Nikephoros Gymnos

- 252. Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae ed. J. Noret, Louvain (1982) 77-8.
- 253. Esphigmenou 55, 57-8.
- 254. NIKETAS CHONIATES 72-3.
- 255. PAUL OF LATROS 135.
- 256. See infra 415-16.

who lived as an ascetic in the Calabrian mountains of southern Italy during the 10th century is quite probably unrelated;[252] more likely to be of the same family are the protospatharios Theodore Gymnos, who owned land in the Chalkidike near Athos in the earlier 11th century,[253] and the Gymnos who was apparently judge and anagrapheos of Corfu in 1147.[254] All that can be stated is that the evidence does not point to a local family from western Asia Minor, and would not contradict a Constantinopolitan background.

Aside from the evidence of seals and document signatures, Saints' Lives also occasionally mention theme judges. In the late 10th century St. Paul of Latros was credited with the posthumous miracle of freeing some villagers being taken prisoner to the judge of the Thrakesioi.[255] The judge is unnamed but perhaps significantly St. Paul, protector of the local community, is imagined taking the side of the villagers, even though they were guilty, against the judge.[256]

Three theme judges appear in the Life of St. Lazaros of mount Galesion, written shortly after 1057, and in each case the evidence is quite clear that these were outsiders, only in the Thrakesion for a short period of office.

The three are each called Nikephoros. The first was Nikephoros Kampanares to whom St. Lazaros sent a letter warning him of an impending uprising. At the time this meant nothing to

257. LAZAROS 539-40; SKYLITZES 418, 420; PSELLOS, I, 109-12.
258. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 87.
259. ibid. 94; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 321; he may have been the guardian of the chain across the Golden Horn, see R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 457-8.
260. A seal of a Nikephoros Kampanares was found in 1928 in the ruins of a monastery at Golçuk, on the southern shore of the gulf, south-west of İzmit, V. LAURENT, 'Sceaux byzantins', EO XXIX (1930) nr. 111, 319-23.

Kampanares, but shortly afterwards the rebellion broke out which toppled Michael V. On the 19th April 1042 Michael sent the Empress Zoe into exile. The eparch of the city, Anastasios, was stoned while trying to read the proclamation. Two days later, Michael and his uncle Constantine had been driven from the palace, and Nikephoros Kampanares had replaced Anastasios as eparch.[257]

The evidence from both the Life of St. Lazaros and the account given by Skylitzes of these events is quite clear that Nikephoros was a Constantinopolitan. He was living in the city before he became eparch, a post which under any circumstances demanded someone familiar with Constantinople, but particularly so on the 21st April 1042, when the citizens had attacked the previous eparch, besieged the palace and dethroned the Emperor.

Other evidence associates the Kampanares family with Constantinople and with the Imperial legal and civil service. The Peira, referring to the 1020s, mentions a Kampanarios who was a senior Constantinopolitan judge;[258] a Kampanarios is also mentioned as the epitropos of Galata, which may be an equivalent post to either the judges or the geitoniarchai of the twelve urban regions.[259] Either of these may have been Nikephoros.[260] A Michael Kampanares appears on a seal, dated by Seibt to the third quarter of the 11th century, as a primikerios; another seal, but possibly of the same Michael Kampanares, names him judge of the Peloponnese. A date in the

261. W. SEIBT, Österreich nr. 62, 174-5; G. SCHLUMBERGER, 180, 629 nr. 1; the variant spellings Kampanares/Kampanarios appear to be without significance, see SKYLITZES 420 and apparatus.
262. LAZAROS 540.
263. ibid. 541.

1060s to 1080s has been suggested.[261] The association between St. Lazaros and such a prominent figure in Constantinople must have appeared out of the ordinary, because the Life goes on to explain that Nikephoros Kampanares knew the Saint because he had in the past been strategos of the Thrakesioi.[262]

The second theme judge is Nikephoros the son of Euthymios who was exiled in 1050 by Constantine IX Monomarchos. Several years earlier he had been judge of the Thrakesioi, and during his period of office had met the holy father. Now in 1050, wandering in exile, he came across a monk from the Galesion monastery whom Nikephoros sent with a message to St. Lazaros asking for his prayers. The saint prophesied that Nikephoros would soon be recalled, and so it turned out; shortly afterwards Nikephoros wrote again to the holy father, thanking him and sending him three litrai in gratitude.[263]

The Life itself is not specific about Nikephoros' background, but it does imply that he was not a local figure, but rather a Constantinopolitan who had held temporary office in the theme. The Life depicts Nikephoros in exile from the Imperial city as an isolated figure, cut off from his previous influence and support. There is no implication whatsoever that he had any interest amongst the Thrakesioi to which he could turn. Making contact with St. Lazaros was a fortuitous act of desperation.

- 264. SKYLITZES 602.
- 265. LAZAROS 543.
- 266. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS DAI 232-4, 256.
- 267. F1533.

In this case, however, it is unnecessary to rely on inference because the incident is also report by Skylitzes:

"At this time [c. 1050] he [Constantine IX Monomarchos] made a tyrannical attack on *τινων ἀρχόντων πολιτῶν* whose leaders were Nikephoros and Michael, the children of Euthymios, and several others belonging to the same family." [264]

This is the clearest of statements confirming the evidence of the Life of St. Lazaros that Nikephoros was one of the Constantinopolitan elite; and the focus of his career, family and supporters was the Imperial city rather than anywhere in the provinces. As judge he had been in the Thrakesion as an outsider, and had presumably moved on to another post in Constantinople or elsewhere.

The third theme judge in the Life is Nikephoros Proteuon who visited St. Lazaros during his term of office. He attempted to display his piety by walking up the mountain and made some remark to this effect to St. Lazaros. The saint was not impressed and Nikephoros Proteuon was duly abashed. Evidently for such a grandee to go on foot was worthy of comment. [265]

The Proteuon family included a John Proteuon who was strategos of the Peloponnese for a short period in the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos, [266] and another Proteuon who was strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai, possibly at about the same time; [267] in the 11th century they held high civil and legal office in

268. F699.
269. V. LAURENT, 'Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines', EO XXXI (1932) 342-3; DO 55.1.3276; F495.
270. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1109, 614.
271. ibid. nr. 838, 443.
272. SKYLITZES 478; ZONARAS 650; Kouzena: LAZAROS 535, 539; SATHAS MB V, Ep. 68, 299-300.

Constantinople and in a variety of provinces: Theophanes Proteuon was judge of the Kibyrrhaiotai;[268] Theodore Proteuon rose from judge of the Armeniakoi,[269] to become kuaistor[270] and finally patrikios and judge of the velum.[271] As with the Xeros and Hexamilites families, the combination of high judicial office and a wide range of postings suggests a family well established in Constantinople and at court.

The Nikephoros Proteuon of the Life may be the man of the same name whom Constantine IX Monomarchos chose as his successor in 1055. At the time, however, he was absent from Constantinople, administering Bulgaria; before he could return to the Imperial city he was arrested and imprisoned in Thessalonika. He was later exiled to a monastery at Kouzena, near Magnesia on the Maeander in the Thrakesion.[272] Evidently the Proteuon family could expect no natural support among the Thrakesioi, otherwise Theodora and her advisers would hardly have sent him there.

This survey of the strategoi and judges of the Thrakesioi reveals above all the rather limited state of the evidence; yet there is sufficient to show that not only were the 11th century theme judges strangers to the Thrakesion, appointed from Constantinople and having no background in the theme, but that they were heirs to nearly four centuries of a very similar arrangement. When I began research into the strategoi and judges I was looking for evidence of their local connections; what I found was a cumulative picture of a province ruled by outsiders.

1. G. G. LITRAVIN, 'Otnositel'nye razmery i sostav imuschestva provincial'noj vizantijskoj aristokratii vo vtroj polovine XI v', Vizantijskie Ocerki Moscow (1971) 164-8; A. P. KAZHDAN, Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujsčego klassa Vizantii XI-XI vv. Moscow (1973) 226-37; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 9-11; A. P. KAZHDAN, G. CONSTABLE, People and Power in Byzantium Washington, DC (1982) 51.
2. G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium' DOP XXV (1971) 4, 6-8, 12-15, 18, 28-9; H.-G. BECK, Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen Bayerisch Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. klasse, Sitzungsberichte 5, Munich (1965) 5-32; C. MANGO, Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome 50-54; the most recent English contribution deliberately ignores the issue: The Byzantine Aristocracy 3.
3. M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 38-9.
4. ibid. 39; see also ibid. 3-4.

CHAPTER NINE. Unofficial Rulers? - landed magnates and
local power.

In recent years several historians have pointed to the fact that the evidence for a landed aristocracy in Byzantium is rather slight.[1] So far, however, the implications of this suggestion have had little effect on current research and it tends to be generally assumed that the ownership of great estates, and the establishment of associated networks of clientage, kinship and patronage, was a fundamental feature of the social and political life of the Byzantine Empire.[2]

In a recent survey of the 11th century it was said of the major political families, "Most ... had their roots and estates in the provinces ... They had great estates and were immensely rich; they possessed powerful households and had built up a network of clients. This in itself gave them a large measure of political influence, but it had to be safeguarded by some say in government ... To ensure this they needed the support of a series of groups, both in the provinces and in the capital."[3] Doubt as to the role of landed estates and provincial clients is implicit in the next remark that, "In the provinces they tended to work through the army ...", but this is not followed through. The impression is left that it was the possession of great provincial estates that provided one of the essential bases of political power.[4]

5. For the idea of the frontier zone as a society apart, see J. F. HALDON, H. KENNEDY, 'The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands', ZRVI XIX (1980) 79-116.
6. See supra n. 154.

This interpretation of 11th century Byzantium as a society divided between civilian Constantinopolitan officials and military landowners, whose power and influence in the capital ultimately derived from provincial estates, is certainly attractive; but so far the evidence quoted in support has almost entirely come from the world of the eastern and western frontiers. In any discussion of the Byzantine landed elite the names recur of the Phokades, the Skleroi, the Maleïnoi; other familiar examples are from the 9th century, Basil I's wealthy patroness, the widow Danielis, and from a later period, such Comnenian figures as Gregory Pakourianos and Leo Kephalas. It has also been too easily assumed that the possession of landed estates inevitably gave their owner political influence in the province where they lay. The possibility that this might only apply in certain areas such as the eastern frontier, and that elsewhere land might have been acquired as no more than an economic asset has been insufficiently considered.

The Skleroi, the Phokades and the related Maleïnoi certainly did exercise a considerable unofficial authority in the eastern provinces that made them a force to be reckoned with in the capital. Bardas Skleros, the rebel who nearly toppled the Macedonian dynasty at the end of the 10th century, had estates and households in the east, and throughout his rebellion could draw on considerable support from this region.[6] The Phokades and the Maleïnoi similarly appear to have owned lands in Cappadocia, and there is evidence to suggest that their kinsmen

7. Phokades: SKYLITZES 366; LEO DIACONUS 112-13; I. DJURIC, 'Porodika Foka' ZRVI XVII (1976) 226-8, 284-7; L. N. THIERRY, 'Les enseignements historiques de l'archaéologie Cappadocienne' TM VIII (1981) 506-7, 515-7; L. RODLEY, 'The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin', JÖB XXXIII (1983) 301-39; Maleinoi: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 479; SKYLITZES 332, 340; YAHYA 373-4; 'Vie de S. Michel Maleinos' ed. L. Petit, Revue de l'Orient Chrétien VII (1902) 550-51, 557-8; W. B. R. SAUNDERS, 'The Aachen Reliquary of Eustathios Maleinos, 969-970', DOP XXXVI (1982) 212-14: see also J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 264 n. 24; the Maleinoi also owned property in Bithynia and Paphlagonia near the Sangarios on the main road to Constantinople, E. HONIGMANN, 'Un itinéraire arabe à travers le Pont', Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves IV (1936) 268-71; in the 11th century a Stephen Maleinos of Thessalonika owned a proasteia at Mesolimna near the city, Lavra I, nr. 46, 246.
8. * See supra n. 5; G. DAGRON, 'Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'orient byzantin à la fin du Xe et au XIe siècle: l'immigration syrienne', TM VI (1976) 177-216; G. DEDEYAN, 'L'immigration arménienne en Cappadoce au XIe siècle', B XLV (1975) 41-117; see also e.g. J. LE PATOUREL, The Norman Empire Oxford (1976) 63-5, 310-11; G. M. FRASER, The Steel Bonnets London (1971) *passim*.
9. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 227-8, 316-21.

and clients, also owning land and resident in the region, dominated local society.[7]

However, none of these families should be regarded as typical of the Byzantine ruling elite. They were instead outstandingly successful military clans who had made their fortunes on the eastern frontier where Byzantine Greek society came in direct contact with the intermingled worlds of the Arabs, the Armenians and the Syrians. In terms of people, territory and military operations, the frontier was a fluid zone, and as the Empire went over to the offensive from the mid 9th century onwards, Christian adventurers might hope to achieve wealth and power. Army posts and pay gave Byzantine commanders patronage to dispense, and a war which concentrated on raiding produced large quantities of booty. The Arab world was wealthy and the profits of war could be high. The result of these conditions was, as in so many other medieval and modern states, the creation of a distinctive frontier society. It follows that evidence taken from this region cannot simply be applied without question to the rest of the Empire. The Phokades, the Skleroi and others have to be treated as at least potentially exceptional cases.[8]

The eastern frontier in the 10th century was neither the only region of the Empire to produce such a phenomenon, nor the 10th century the only period. The extraordinarily wealthy widow Danielis, who acted as an early patron to the future Basil I,[9] came from the north-western corner of the Peloponnese which was a

10. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 228-36; KEKAUMENOS 32-4;
A. BON, Le Péloponnese byzantine jusqu'en 1204 Paris (1951)
27-70, 76-81.
11. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 126.
12. See M. ANGOLD, 'Archons and dynasts: local aristocracies
and the cities of the later Byzantine Empire' in The
Byzantine Aristocracy 236-8.
13. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 320-21.
14. P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 158-61. 164-74; P. GAUTIER, 'Le
typikon de Grégoire Pacourianos' REB XLII (1984) 33-4.

remote and warlike area in the 9th century. The De Administrando Imperio has preserved a record of the inhabitants of Patras fighting off a local Slav attack in the early years of the century, and there is every likelihood that the lack of sources hides a great deal more such warfare, not only against Slavs but also against Bulgars, and Arab pirates.[10] It was only during Basil I's reign that Imperial armies and fleets effectively returned to the Adriatic and western Balkans.[11] During the early insecurity, when Imperial help could not be relied on, one would have expected the rise of local leaders to exercise semi-independent authority and to reap the benefits in terms of personal wealth.[12] It is noteworthy that the heir to the widow's wealth was none of her kin, but the Emperor himself, perhaps underlining the return of this area to full Imperial control.[13]

Later at the end of the 11th century, the landed estates of Gregory Pakourianos and Leo Kephalas were similarly the products of dangerous and unsettled times. Gregory Pakourianos was a Georgian adventurer who with a retinue of native soldiers had spent a lifetime serving in the Emperors' wars. In the early 1080s he was an important supporter of Alexios I Comnenos by whom he was rewarded with extensive estates in Bulgaria and Macedonia.[14] Leo Kephalas was also one of Alexios Comnenos' supporters during this critical period. In the winter of 1082-3 when desertion and surrender threatened Byzantine control of the Balkans, Leo Kephalas played a vital role in the war against the

15. ANNA COMNENA II, 23-4; Lavra I, 258-9, 336-7; G. ROUILLARD, 'Un grand bénéficiaire sous Alexis Comnène: Léon Kephalas' BZ XXX (1930) 444-50.
16. ANNA COMNENA I, 130-31; II, 9-13; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 257-9; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 307-9.
17. P. GAUTIER, 'Grégoire Pacourianos' 57-9, 89-95, 165-7; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 184-6; note also Lemerle's description of these estates as "cette micro-société géorgienne installée en Thrace", ibid. 187.
18. Lavra I, nr. 60, 313-15.
19. ibid. nr. 46, 246-7; G. ROUILLARD, 'Un grand bénéficiaire' 444, 447-50.

Normans by holding Larissa for six months against Bohemond's army.[15]

In both cases Alexios may well have been giving his generals land in lieu of salaries and court titles because the treasury was empty and he had no other means to reward them.[16] The recipients' attitude is difficult to judge. Gregory Pakourianos died childless and the bulk of his lands went to found the monastery of the Theotokos Petritziotisa at Bačkovo. The typikon gives no indication as to the previous history of the estates, but it is plain that this was not to be a base for secular power hidden under a monastic disguise. Other members of the Pakourianos family existed but Gregory was explicit that they were only to be admitted as ordinary monks, provided the total number of monks did not rise above fifty, and they were in no way to compromise the independence of the monastery.[17] Leo Kephalas kept his estates during his lifetime, but in 1115 his son Nikephoros gave most of them to the Great Lavra.[18] One estate, that of Mesolimna near Thessalonika, had been owned before 1078 by Stephen Maleinos; it had then passed into the hands of the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates who gave it to "the Frank Oto" and Leo Vaaspourakanites. Before 1084, however, they joined the revolt of Raoul of Pontoise and consequently lost the estate, which was passed on to Leo Kephalas.[19] The history of the estate, passing through at least three separate families in less than forty years, and in particular the fact that Nikephoros III gave it in joint ownership to an Armenian and Frankish soldier,

20. NIKETAS CHONIATES 278-9.
21. See R. MORRIS, 'The powerful and the poor in tenth century Byzantium: law and reality' PP LXXIII (1976) 3-27.
22. ibid. 6-7, 14-15; J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 209, 265.

implies that the estate did not form the basis of any centre of provincial influence. Both Emperors would appear to have given the estate simply for its economic value, and the beneficiaries presumably used it as such. The prosopography of the Kephalas family is too vague to form any firm conclusion, but it is worth nothing that they remained wealthy and powerful through the 12th century, long after the estates acquired from Alexios I had been given to the Lavra.[20]

Apart from these cases, which can be regarded as exceptional, the assumption that landed magnates, that is persons whose political power in Constantinople rested on support in the provinces, were a general feature of Byzantine society has also rested on an interpretation of the so-called 10th century land crisis.[21]

The legislation associated with the crisis dates from between the 920s and 996, and has a general concern to protect the penetes from the dvnatoi. In the earliest legislation the dvnatoi are defined so as to include virtually all office holders, civil, military and ecclesiastical, but already by 947 it had been found necessary to exclude minor officials, theme soldiers and lesser monasteries from the full rigours of the law.[22]

The conclusion has been drawn from this that the 10th century saw a steady process whereby the holders of major offices

23. ibid. 214-17; R. MORRIS, 'The powerful and the poor' 15-17, 23-7; A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 159 n. 1; c.f. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 106.
24. R. MORRIS, op.cit. 7-10.
25. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 443-4.

invested in land, thus creating great provincial estates. This in turn gave them a political base away from Constantinople which threatened the authority of the Emperor and the Imperial government. The latter was alarmed at this process and legislated to stop it. In part there is agreement that this was aimed at the eastern generals, but since one of the principal documents of the series, the prostaxis of March 947, was drawn up as a result of enquiries from the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi, it has been assumed that this was a general development, certainly throughout Asia Minor, and probably in the Empire as a whole.[23]

Other interpretations, however, are possible;[24] in particular, R. Morris' analysis of the documents of the 'land crisis' has shown that the legislation is not homogenous nor all aimed at the same target. That issued in the 930s was a response to the temporary crisis following the famine of 927-8 and the severe winter of 933-4.[24] The further Imperial activity revealed by the prostaxis of 947 could simply have been the continuation of this response, but it is perhaps more likely that there was an immediate political motive. In January 945 Constantine Porphyrogenitos had finally deposed the Lekapenos dynasty and later in the same year he sent various high ranking Imperial agents out into the ~~themes~~ themes, including the Thrakesion and the Anatolikon, to investigate the abuses perpetrated by the strategoi and their subordinates in the theme army during Romanos' reign.[25] The pretext was the sufferings of the

26. R. MORRIS, op.cit. 10-13.

27. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 214-17, 243-4.

penetes, but the likely motive was Constantine's need to impress his authority on soldiers and officials who had been appointed under the previous regime, and who might yet support a Lekapenid restoration. In any case after 949 the target of the legislation again changes, even if it is still couched in some of the same terms. In these years the lawmakers were trying to cope with the problems of a period of military defeat which interrupted an earlier phase of success. The stratiotai, who had earlier been listed among the dunatoi, were now seen as penetes to be protected. Finally the third period of legislation, exemplified by the novel of 996, is closely linked to the crisis of Basil II's civil war with the eastern generals.[26]

The Maeander region, coming under the themes of the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi, is only mentioned in the context of the earlier legislation before 949.[27] During this period officials of all sorts, including theme archontes and stratiotai, had taken advantage of the peasants' plight to buy up their lands. This was perceived by central government as a threat to the Empire's tax revenue and a novel was issued to reverse the process. Since the Maeander region was a relatively prosperous part of the Empire it should come as no surprise that there were landowners able to take advantage of the circumstances; it does not, however, indicate of itself that there were great landed magnates in the region.

28. See supra 11 - 13.
29. LEO OF SYNADA Ep. 43, 68; L. ROBERT, 'Les kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies. Sur des lettres d'un metropolite de Phrygie du Xe siècle. Philologie et réalités', Journal des Savants 131-66.
30. SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 68, 299-300.
31. e.g. F. DVORNIK, La vie de saint Grégoire le Decapolite et les slaves macédoniens au IXe Paris (1926) 53; LAZAROS 532-3, 537-8, 578-9; E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio', 284; see also the Arab wreck dated to 1024/5 found at Serçe limanı, south-west of Marmaris: G. F. BASS, F. VAN DOORNINCK, 'An eleventh century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey', International Journal of Nautical Archaeology VII (1978) 119-32.
32. C.f. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 106.

THE LOWER MAEANDER REGION

The lower Maeander region is an especially suitable area for exploring the relationship between landed estates and political power in Constantinople and the provinces. Not only are the sources at least comparatively extensive, but the position of the Maeander region as an exceptionally fertile district usually within a week's sailing time of Constantinople, would make its landed estates an attractive prospect.

The economic advantages of the region are not in doubt. The potential fertility has been discussed in chapter one[28] and there is some slight evidence that 10th and 11th century Byzantines did exploit it beyond the merely local level. Leo of Synada reveals some sort of grain trade between the wheat growing Thrakesion and the barley producing Anatolikon;[29] Michael Psellos mentions the fine wine of Kouzena near Magnesia on the Maeander he is sending to the Patriarch Constantine Leichoudes;[30] and ship and ship owners are mentioned quite frequently.[31]

Only a few landowners are named in the sources, but there is evidence that several figures of major importance in court politics at Constantinople did own land in the Thrakesion, whether directly or as a Charistikē; and there is no reason to believe that the full list of such persons should not be much longer.[32] However one cannot assume that their presence in the

33. See H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 7-8, 24-6, 39-40, 167-78 et passim; M. ANGOLD, A Byzantine Government in Exile Oxford (1975) 121-143.
34. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio' 277.
35. Codices Urbinales graeci bibliothecae Vaticanae ed. C. Stornajolo, Rome (1895) 111-27.

region was anything other than a purely economic arrangement; the name alone implies almost nothing and it is necessary to go behind the mere fact of land ownership and look for evidence of local interests and influence.

For the 13th century it is possible to explore the region's social structure through the monastic archives, and H. Ahrweiler has done this using the Lembos cartulary and the later documents of the archive of the monastery of St. John on Patmos. During the period of the Nicaean Empire the greater part of the region's territory seems to have been divided between various great estates owned by major figures at the nearby Imperial court, and it is reasonable to presume that their investments in churches and monasteries indicate a desire to build up a local influence.[33]

Her approach, however, cannot simply be repeated for the period before the Turkish invasions. In the first place there are very few Byzantine documents known from Asia Minor before 1080. The largest collection is that from the Nea Moni on Chios, but it numbers only 19 texts and they have only survived in poorly edited versions of early 19th century copies. The rest was destroyed in a fire in 1822.[34] A fragmentary cartulary of the Stylos monastery on mount Latros was copied in the 15th century, and has been preserved as part of a manuscript acquired by the duke of Urbino and now in the Vatican library.[35] Only four of its texts date to before 1080. The cartulary of the Xerochoraphion monastery, in the mountains north of Latros on the

36. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiera-Xerochoraphion', REB XXVI (1968) 5-47; Bodleianus, Roe 9, f. 1r-1v, f. 69r-69v.
37. EP I, 119*-135*.
38. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio' 277-84.
39. IDEM, 'Anekdotos katalogos eggraphon tēs en Patmoi Monēs (12-13 ai.)', Symmeikta I (1966) 138-40, 159-60.
40. ibid. 144-49; EP I, nr. 2, 17-18; nr. 3, 25-7; nr. 4, 33-4.
41. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Anekdotos katalogos' 149-59.

other side of the Maeander, has been in part reassembled from several fragments of a 13th century manuscript scattered between Oxford, Florence and Milan.[36] Only one of the texts dates to before 1080, although it includes references to five other 11th century documents. Finally the monastery of St. John on Patmos, whose archive forms the largest surviving collection of Byzantine documents from Asia Minor, was not founded until 1088, and contains only five documents from the period before 1080.[37]

Apart from sheer scarcity there has also been a bias in the type of document preserved. The Nea Moni once contained an archive of about 400 documents; of the 35 of which some record has survived, all are Imperial acts whether chrysobulls or pittakia.[38] At Patmos, where 150 documents have been preserved from an archive which once contained over 500, comparatively few Imperial chrysobulls are missing. Comparison of the present holdings of the monastery with those listed in a catalogue written in the late 12th or early 13th century[39] show that the monks have disposed of a large number of redundant documents, but that in each case they deliberately kept the chrysobulls. Thus from over 50 documents concerned with Kos and Strobilos, most of which were private acts or documents covering the previous ownership of the properties, only three chrysobulls have been preserved.[40] The Kos and Strobilos estates are a particularly dramatic example, but on a smaller scale the pattern is repeated throughout the Patmos archive.[41]

42. See F. DOLGER, J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. 1. Die Kaiserurkunden Munich (1968) 99-128.
43. MM VI, 133-6.
44. ibid. 150-74, 187, 191-3.
45. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire' 36-40.
46. e.g. A. GUILLOU, Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile I, Vatican (1967) 22-5, 29-32, 57-61; G. ROBINSON, History and Cartulary of the Greek monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone II/1, Orientalia Christiana XV/2, Rome (1929) 138-57, 163-70.
47. See e.g. Lavra I, nr. 1, 89-91; nr. 10, 124-5; nr. 44, 241-4.

Such Imperial texts, chrysobulls and pittakia, record the monasteries' privileges and donations made by the Emperor,[42] whether in land taken from the Imperial estates or in revenue drawn from one of the sekreta. Save under peculiar circumstances they do not discuss the private grants which might reveal the activities of the local elite. The earliest surviving private act concerning the Maeander region is dated to 1197,[43] and the rest - 19 from Patmos,[44] and 4 from the Xerochoraphion[45] are from the 13th century. Private acts certainly existed in the 10th and 11th century Maeander region, and surviving examples are known from elsewhere in the Byzantine world. They are quite common in the monastic archives of Byzantine southern Italy,[46] and although rare on mount Athos the earliest examples date to the late 9th century.[47] The monasteries of the Maeander region no doubt did receive private benefactions over the two centuries before the Turkish invasions, and in most cases they probably once had private acts to prove it; but it cannot be presumed that either the donors or their pattern of donation was the same as in the 13th century. In general it would be making an unfounded assumption simply to transfer the picture of Byzantine society derived from 13th century evidence to the very different conditions of two hundred years earlier.

The documentary evidence which does survive for great landowners and their involvement in the region before the Turkish invasion is mostly taken from the monastic archives, but it is not specifically concerned with their role in local society and

48. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4; LAZAROS 540; EP I, nr. 5, 43-5; nr. 47, 333; EP II, nr. 50, 15; nr. 52, 57; see also N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 139.
49. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 894; see C. L. STRIKER, The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul Princeton (1981) 6-9; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 351-4; C. MANGO, Byzantine Architecture New York (1974) 198-205.
50. See N. OIKONOMIDES, 'St. George of Mangana, MariaSkleraina, and the Malyj Sion of Novgorod' 241-2; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 273-83.
51. DO 55.1.4605; F 676.
52. See e.g. Lavra I, nr. 31, 189; nr. 32, 193; nr. 41, 227; V. LAURENT, Corpus nr. 716, 370-71; G. W. H. LAMPE, PGL sub despotes; non-imperial useage would have been kurios, e.g. LAZAROS 107; Lavra I, nr. 68, 357.

is open to a number of interpretations.

The oldest complex of estates known in the Maeander region is possibly that of the Myrelaion, which during the later 10th and 11th centuries was a separate sekreton within the overall system of Imperial estates. Between 965 and 969, in the mid-11th century, and again in the 1070s, the Myrelaion is attested as owning estates near Miletos and elsewhere along the coast of the Maeander region.[48]

The name of the sekreton is taken from that of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Myrelaion which was founded by Romanos I Lekapenos as a monastery and family mausoleum, of a type familiar in the middle Byzantine period.[49] Like the later sekreton of the Mangana, based on the monastery founded by Constantine IX Monomarchos between 1042 and 1046,[50] the estates of the sekreton were those of the parent monastery's landed endowment, although to what extent the 11th century sekreton's lands were those of the monastery's original endowment by Romanos Lekapenos, and how Romanos obtained the land is not clear. It is possible to do no more than suggest an interpretation.

There is a seal dated to the 10th century on iconographic and stylistic grounds which names a certain Stephen, imperial clerk, koubouklesios and megas kourator of the despotes Romanos.[51] Despotes in this context is a synonym for basileus,[52] and therefore the Romanos referred to is either

53. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 450; R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 133.
54. J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les 'Offikia' de l'eglise byzantin Paris (1970) 41.
55. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine aristocratic oikos' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 94.
56. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 402; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 894; see also C. L. STRIKER, The Myrelaion 11-33.
57. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 402-4, 420, 473; SKYLITZES 237, 252; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 924; see C. L. STRIKER, op.cit. 6-9.

Romanos I Lekapenos or Romanos II Porphyrogenitos. The latter is less likely because although Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos created a palace for his son, Romanos II, there is no record of it having had a major independent landed endowment, as would be implied by the title megas kourator, and in general the details seem to fit well the circumstances of the elder Romanos.[53]

Stephen's titles, Imperial clerk and koubouklesios, are ecclesiastical rather than lay,[54] and although oikos is an equivocal term,[55] they do suggest that he was in charge of lands that could also be considered as ecclesiastical. Since there is no indication, or probability, that Romanos I Lekapenos founded two such well endowed establishments in need of a megas kourator, and since Theophanes Continuatus and the Logothete specifically refer to Romanos founding a monastery in his oikos,[56] the seal is almost certainly that of the Myrelaion before the complex was generally known by that name. After Romanos Lekapenos' deposition in 944, later Emperors would not wish to be reminded of the monastery's origin, and thus although it was maintained as a separate sekreton it was henceforth known as the Myrelaion.

The facts that the Myrelaion was founded in Romanos Lekapenos' oikos, that it was intended as a family mausoleum rather than as a specifically Imperial foundation,[57] and that it maintained its financial independence even after Romanos' fall, and in addition the probability that we have a seal of an

58. See I. DJURIC, 'Porodika Foka' 216-28; N. ADONTZ, 'L'age et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I, (867-886)' B VIII (1933) 475-513, B IX (1934) 223-60.
59. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 841.
60. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 229-30; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 816; GENESIOS ; see N. ADONTZ 'L'age et l'origine' B VIII (1933) 489-92.
61. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 72-4; LIUDTPRAND OF CREMONA

ecclesiastical megas kourator of the Myrelaion, described as Romanos' oikos, together suggests that the Myrelaion estates were those which Romanos had possessed before 919.

The Lekapenoi were a 'new family' at the early 10th century Imperial court, but the same could be said of several families of this period - to name only the Phokades and the Macedonian dynasty as obvious examples.[58] The Logothete, who is favourable to Romanos, tells how his father Theophylact Abastaktos ('the unbearable'), made the family's fortune in 871 when he saved Basil I's life during the flight from Tephrike. As a reward Theophylact asked for a place in the guards of the Imperial palace,[59] and one must presume that like Basil I's own early career which began as an Imperial groom, such a post brought him into contact with the Emperor and courtiers, some prosperity and residence in Constantinople.[60]

Sources associated with Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos and the restored Macedonian dynasty denigrated Romanos' origins: his foreign policy was to be disowned on the grounds that he had been "a common illiterate fellow", and Lintdprand of Cremona was told at Constantine VII's court that the former Emperor had been a ptochos serving in the Imperial fleet until he came to Leo VI's attention for slaying a lion.[61]

However this evidence has to be discounted. By 911 Romanos was strategos of the naval theme of Samos, and even if this was a

62. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 376-7; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 870.
63. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 882; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 958, 519-20.
64. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 882.
65. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Aristocratic oikos' 92-105.
66. C.f. H. GREGOIRE, 'Le lieu de naissance de Romain Lecapene et Digenis Acritas', B VIII (1933) 572-4.

lesser theme by comparison with the Thrakesion, many of the same factors applied when its commanders were appointed.[62] By this date Romanos must have been one of the elite close to the Emperor, and this is confirmed in 917 when he was promoted and appointed commander-in-chief, or droungarios, of the fleet.[63] It should not need to be laboured that such a senior command was not given to a political outsider; his powerful supporters at court after his dubious role in the debacle of 917 in Bulgaria[64] are further evidence that long before 919 Romanos Lekapenos was an established figure among the Byzantine elite - whatever pro-Macedonian sources, shy of that dynasty's origins, might wish to imply to the contrary.

Other prominent Byzantines in similar positions owned an oikos in Constantinople, founded monasteries in the city and owned estates elsewhere;[65] Romanos certainly had a Constantinopolitan oikos, founded a monastery at the Myrelaion, and the estates can reasonably be taken for granted. He can therefore be regarded as at least a possible name for a list of major landowners in the 10th century Maeander region.

However, there is no evidence to suggest that Romanos should be seen as a 'provincial magnate'. It has been claimed on very slight grounds that he came from the Melitene region on the Byzantine eastern frontier, but this is likely to be no more than coincidence.[66] Neither the eastern frontier nor the Maeander region played any significant role in his recorded career, which

67. MM IV, 307-15; for the Stylos and Lamponion, see R. JANIN,
Grands Centres 226, 233-43.

instead was focused entirely on Constantinople. The fleet he commanded from 917 was based there and he intended his family to be buried there. There is nothing in any account of his life to suggest that any landed estates he may have owned, whether in the east or west, were the source of any political influence or interest.

The other 10th century evidence of this type is equally inconclusive. In the cartulary from Mount Latros the earliest group of texts are those produced by the boundary dispute between the monastery of Stylos and that of Lamponion which began before 985 and was not settled until 987. The monks of Lamponion had moved a number of paroikoi and their families on to lands claimed by the Stylos monastery. The latter appealed to the Emperor who delegated a Constantinopolitan judge, Basil, to decide the case. Problems arose because the Stylos had no documentary evidence to support their claim and in due course they agreed to submit to the arbitration of the Patriarch and the Chartophylax. At no stage in the dispute is there any indication of other local landed interests whose views could be taken into account. The witnesses, judges and participants were either monks, Constantinopolitan or local clergy, or Imperial officials, and save for the judge Basil and members of the patriarchal court, all those involved were of rather lowly status.[67]

At about the same time or shortly after the monks of Stylos settled their dispute with those of Lamponion, Nikephoros

68. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 241-2; F. DÖLGER, Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges 24 n. 26.
69. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 241, l. 5.
70. Partly due to the fact that an edition was not published until 1973, there is no work of quellenkritik specifically devoted to John Skylitzes' Synopsis Historiarum. However, since the Synopsis is the primary Greek narrative source surviving for the years 944 to 1057, historians working on this period have had to make ad hoc judgements on its reliability. These now make up a small but significant body of generally disparaging criticism: see in particular, A. P. KAZHDAN, 'Ioann Mavropod, Pechenegi i Russkie v Seredine XIV', ZRVI VIII (1963) 178; J. SHEPARD, 'John Mauropous, Leo Tornicius and an alleged Russian army: the chronology of the Pecheneg crisis of 1048-9', JÖB XXIV (1975) 73-4, 78-9; IDEM, 'Scylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the role of Catacalon Cecaumenus' Revue des études Armeniennes NS XI (1975-6) 269-311; IDEM, 'Byzantium's last Sicilian expedition: Scylitzes' testimony', Rivista di Studi Bizantii e Neoellenici NS XXIV-XXVI (1977-9) 156-9; and especially, D. I. POLEMIS, 'Some cases of erroneous identification in the chronicle of Skylitzes', Byz Slav XXVI (1965) 74-81.
71. See W. SEIBT, 'Ioannes Skylitzes. Zur Person des Chronisten', JÖB XXV (1976) 81-5; H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzanter I, 389-91.
72. G. MORAVSČIK, Byzantinoturcica I 336, 426-7; SKYLITZES 3-4.

Ouranos, one of the pre-eminent figures at Basil II's court, sent an elegant letter to the theme judge of the Thrakesioi, requesting to be released from payment of the mitaton, a charge levied on landed property in lieu of quartering Imperial troops.[68]

Nikephoros Ouranos must therefore have owned lands in the Thrakesion, and in view of his high rank and wealth they may well have been quite extensive. However, despite the fact that Nikephoros Ouranos is a well documented figure for this period, there is no other evidence to associate him with the theme; rather to the contrary, he appears as a Constantinopolitan, educated and resident there, who missed the Imperial city when away and who described himself to the theme judge as "a citizen by nature; only by necessity a farmer".[69]

The modern perception of Nikephoros Ouranos has been created by the remarks of Skylitzes who for this period should be regarded as a late and unreliable source.[70] Skylitzes' Synopsis Historiarum is the principal surviving Greek narrative history for the reign of Basil II, but it was not written until the end of the 11th century.[71] He seems to have based his account of Basil's reign on two earlier histories, one of which was the work of Theodore of Sebasteia, but the result is patchy and confused.[72] Yahya ibn Sa'id, writing at Antioch after 1015, shared Skylitzes' sources, and it is an important reflection on the latter's reliability that even though for Yahya

73. See A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/2, 85-7.
74. D. I. POLEMIS, 'Some cases of erroneous identification' 74-81.
75. SKYLITZES 327; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 219, 102-3; P. MEYER, Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster Leipzig (1894) 125; see also the donor's inscription on the late 10th/early 11th century bronze doors at the Lavra, C. BOURA, 'The Byzantine bronze doors, of the Great Lavra monastery on mount Athos, JÖB XXIV (1975) 249-50; Nikephorou patrikiou protou epi tou kanikleiou.
76. SKYLITZES 327; M. CANARD, 'Deux documents arabes sur Bardas Skleros', Studi Bizantini e Neollenici V (1939) 55-6.
77. SKYLITZES 341, 345, 364; this has provided the basic evidence for the image of Nikephoros Ouranos given by modern historians, A. DAIN, La 'Tactique' de Nicéphore Ouranos 133-6; J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 45-8; A. DAIN, 'Les stratégistes byzantins', TM II (1967) 371-3; A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world 296-7.
78. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 44-5.

the internal politics of Byzantium were only a side issue, it is Yahya who has preserved a more reliable account of events.[73] Throughout his history, which up to 948 is essentially a copy of Theophanes Continuatus, Skylitzes makes various unwarranted changes to his sources. Some of these are simply mistakes; others involve adding surnames and titles that would have conformed to the expectations of the late 11th century.[74] For Nikephoros Ouranos, Skylitzes makes the mistake of calling him vestes in 980, when in fact he is known from a seal and from the diatyposis of Athanasios of the Lavra to have been only patrikios and anthypatos:[75] Skylitzes also fails to realize that Nikephoros went on not one, but two embassies to Baghdad in the 980s.[76] These are, however, minor points in comparison to Skylitzes' fundamental misapprehension that Nikephoros' career was solely that of a soldier. Skylitzes would appear to have known of Nikephoros Ouranos only as the victor of the battle of Sperchios in 995 and as a successful *doux* of Antioch.[77] In the light of other sources for Nikephoros' career this is a most extraordinary distortion.

In the first place among the contrary evidence comes Nikephoros' own writings. As well as the letters surviving in MS Patmos 706,[78] Nikephoros has also left a number of other works ranging from an enormous Taktika to a verse alphabet. The former is a typically Byzantine literary product. It is a vast work, still not published in full, which reproduces a number of authors on military matters dating from the Hellenistic period up to and

79. See A. DAIN, La 'Tactique' passim; J.-A. DE FOUCAULT, 'Douze chapitres Inédits de la Tactique de Nicéphore Ouranos', TM V (1973) 281-312; Peri Paradromes: G. T. DENNIS, Three Byzantine Military Treatises 144-238; verse alphabet: A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, 'Byzantina Analekta', BZ VIII (1899) 66-70.
80. AS May V, 307-401; S. G. MERCATI, 'Versi de Niceforo Uranos in morte di Simeone Metafraste', AB LXVIII (1950) 126-34.
81. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 217-48.
82. See supra 347-8.

including the 10th century. Material relevant to modern - that is post-classical - warfare makes up only a very small proportion of the whole, and Nikephoros makes not the slightest reference to his own military achievements or experience. The Taktika is not a military handbook in the sense of, for example, the Peri Paradromés, written by a member of the Phokas family, but a work of antiquarian scholarship. The world it reflects is not that of the camp and battlefield, familiar to the author of the Peri Paradromés, but that of rare manuscripts and libraries. It is no wonder that it has required strained interpretation to make this the work of a career soldier.[79]

Nikephoros also wrote a paraphrase in two hundred and fifty chapters intended to improve the literary style of the Life of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger, and a series of funerary verses on the death of Symeon Metaphrastes.[80] Like the Taktika, these works are written in a high literary style and testify to a lengthy education and a sound grasp of classical culture. The letters confirm this impression. They show a man of high education, whose literary correspondants came almost exclusively from the ranks of the metropolitan bishops and Constantinopolitan civil servants.[81] All members of a group who had been educated in Constantinople and looked to the Imperial city as the source of all culture.[82]

In tune with this the evidence for Nikephoros Ouranos' career shows him to have been not a soldier but a civil servant

83. H. F. AMERDROZ, 'An embassy from Baghdad to the Emperor Basil II', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1914) 919, 921, 926-7, 929; M. CANARD, 'Deux documents arabes' 56.
84. I have used 'Keeper of the Imperial Inkstand' as a translation for epi tou kanikleiou.
85. H. OMONT, Fac-similes des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e XI^e siècle 32, plate LXIII.
86. See F. DÖLGER, Byzantinische Diplomatik Ettal (1956) 50-65; IDEM, J. KARAYANNOUPULOS, Byzantinische Urkundelehre 126, 131-2; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 311.
87. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers nr. 3, 218; nr. 5, 219-20; nr. 6, 220; nr. 7, 221; nr. 8, 222; nr. 12, 223; nr. 15, 224; nr. 18, 225-6; nr. 21, 227; nr. 23, 228; nr. 39, 239; nr. 47, 245-7.

like his correspondants. At some date before the spring of 983[83] Nikephoros had been appointed to one of the most crucial court offices, as Keeper of the Imperial inkstand.[84] Almost a century later, the illustration on folio 2 recto of MS Coislin 79, showing the Emperor flanked by the four key officers of the Imperial household with the Keeper of the Imperial inkstand immediately to the Emperor's left, would express the importance of this post.[85] The Keeper was responsible for the Emperor's personal signing of documents, and as a result was not only in frequent contact with the Emperor but could also easily supervise and influence the issue of Imperial orders and grants. The Keeper thus stood at the heart of the Imperial court, and it seems to have been at least partly through this office that the Emperor came in contact with the bureaucracy, and that supplicants to the Imperial court actually achieved their ends in an official document. The post offered considerable powers of patronage, in particular toward the church where both monasteries and bishoprics needed Imperial confirmation of the chrysobulls which safeguarded their rights and immunities.[86] This is reflected in the number of bishops among Nikephoros' correspondants,[87] but it also underlines the effective importance of the Keeper's role that even lay officials of similar rank worked through Nikephoros to obtain their ends. For example, a reply survives from Nikephoros to a letter sent by a certain Euthymios, patrikios, anthypatos and charboularios of the Vestiariion - himself a very senior official - requesting the Keeper to confirm various chrysobulls for the bishop of

88. ibid. nr. 4, 218-9.
89. Compare the Constantinopolitan and bureaucratic backgroud of another Keeper of the Imperial Inkstand: G. ROUILLARD, 'Notes prosopographique: le preposite Jean, epi tou koitonos et epi tou kanikleiou', EO XXXII (1933) 444-6; Lavra I, 189-92; ZONARAS III, 649.
90. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 915-42 (= H. F. AMEDROZ, D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate Oxford (1921) VI, 23-35).
91. M. CANARD, 'Deux documents arabes' 55-6.
92. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 921, 926-7.

Koron.[88]

The Keeper of the Imperial inkstand was a post specifically for a civilian bureaucrat. The influence, patronage, and hence power that the Keeper could wield depended upon his ability to manipulate the machinery of scribes, documents and literary correspondance. An unlettered Keeper, or even a Keeper unfamiliar with the workings of civilian government in Constantinople would have found himself displaced by a deputy who could actually fulfil the role.[89] Nikephoros Ouranos, however, is shown not only by his correspondance, but by the attitudes and descriptions of contemporaries to have been very much in charge.

In the early 980s, Basil^{II} was attempting to negotiate a peace with the Buyid sultan at Baghdad. The report of the Buyid ambassador to Constantinople, Abu Ishak ibn Shahram, has survived, preserved in the work of the late 11th century historian of the Buyids, Abu Suga.[90] Ibn Shahram's report is perceptive and well informed and provides one of the best insights into the internal politics of 10th century Byzantium.[91] From the Buyid point of view, the success of the negotiations depended upon the accurate assessment of the balance of power in the Byzantine court. Ibn Shahram is clear that Nikephoros Ouranos was among the most loyal and influential of the Emperor's servants;[92] he also identifies Nikephoros as a civilian opponent to the eastern military families, especially the Phokades, who felt threatened by the decision to make

93. ibid. 920, 925.
94. ibid. 925, 927, 929-30.
95. P. MEYER, Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster 125; Lavra I, 20, 44-5.
96. ibid. 44-5, 189-92, 197-8, 251, 275; see also the epi tou kanikleiou acting as ephoros for Patmos in the 13th century, M. G. NYSTAZOPOULOS, 'Ho epi tou kanikleiou kai hē ephoreia tēs en Patmoi monēs', Symmeikta I (1966) 76-94).
97. e.g. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 12, 222-3; Ep. 18, 225-6; Ep. 38, 238; Ep. 41, 240-41.
98. ibid. Ep. 47, 245-7.
99. ibid. Ep. 10, 222; Ep. 32, 233.
100. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 921.
101. See also J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 22, 227-8; the voluminous and antiquarian taktika could hardly have been written anywhere but Constantinople, A. DAIN, 'Les stratégistes byzantins' 347-63, see esp. diagram, 372.
102. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De. Cer. 668.

peace.[93] They were Nikephoros' enemies, but ibn Shahram reveals that his bitter rival was the parakoimomenos Basil Lekapenos: both being civilian figures, struggling for position and power in Constantinople and among the bureaucracy.[94]

Ibn Shahram's assessment is confirmed by St. Athanasios of Lavra, another influential and well-informed figure during these years. In 984 Athanasios made Nikephoros Ouranos lay guardian of Lavra;[95] his choice of Nikephoros would have reflected a considered judgement of who was most likely to be able to defend the monastery's interest. Since successive Keepers of the Imperial inkstand fulfilled this role for the Lavra throughout the 11th century, it would seem that it was the post as much as the man that Athanasios had in mind.[96]

Nikephoros Ouranos was therefore no outsider to the civilian world of the court and Constantinople. His letters all reflect a Constantinopolitan perspective,[97] and when in Antioch he claims to miss the smoke of the great city.[98] His mother and sister lived in Constantinople,[99] and he had a large house there.[100] His literary culture demands that he was educated there,[101] but it is also quite likely that the Ouranoi were a longstanding Constantinopolitan family, since in 949 another Ouranos is attested as a senior official in one of the financial sekretaria in the capital.[102]

103. ibid. 651; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 436; LEO DIACONUS 7; the Gongyles' borthers Constantinopolitan oikos: 'Vita Sancti Basilii iunioris' ed. S. G. Vilinsky, Zapiski imperatorskogo novorossijskago universiteta, istoriko-filologischeskago fakulteta VI, Odessa (1911) 38.
105. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/1, 362-4.
106. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 301-11.
107. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 41, 240-41; Ep. 47, 245-7;
108. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 930.

Against this background, Nikephoros' military career stands out in contrast, but in fact he was following a path quite common among the Byzantine elite. During the 10th and 11th centuries a number of high civilian officials were given command of armies because the Emperor did not trust the available generals. In the reign of Leo VI, the logothete of the dromos, Himerios, commanded a fleet in 905 and 911,[103] in the period of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos' personal rule after 944, the Cretan expedition of 949 was commanded by a court civilian, Constantine Gongyles,[104] and the parakoimomenos Basil commanded one of armies involved in the great campaign of 958 against Samosata;[105] over a century later, the protovestiarios and eunuch, John, commanded the army sent by Nikephoros III Botaneiates against Nikephoros Melissenos in 1080.[106] *

Nikephoros Ouranos' military career was in the event a success, but he was always a reluctant soldier. His letters only mention military life in order to complain that he would rather have been back in Constantinople.[107] Ibn Shahram describes his reluctance in 983 to be sent on an embassy to Baghdad, and the Buyid ambassador well appreciated that Nikephoros' attitude was based on a fear that his position at court would be usurped in his absence. Unlike Skylitzes, ibn Shahram could see that Nikephoros' vital interests lay in Constantinople.[108]

The place of the estates in the Thrakesioi among Nikephoros' interests can be interpreted in a variety of ways,

109. CA 545-9; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 68.
110. See G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Löhne und Preise in Byzanz', BZ XXXII (1932) 312-14; N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle', TM VI (1976).

but there is nothing in the other evidence for his career to encourage a picture of a provincial magnate who could call on support among the Thrakesioi. His close association with the court, his Constantinopolitan residence and education, and his civilian career would all seem to have left little opportunity or purpose in building up a provincial base. His loyalty to Basil II and the Emperor's trust in him is perhaps best explained that his dependence on Constantinople was not counterbalanced by any vital interests elsewhere. The estates need have been no more than a source of income which Nikephoros was anxious not to see dissipated by payment of the mitaton. Whatever the case, if Nikephoros Ouranos is to be made a provincial magnate it requires assumptions which the surviving evidence for his career does nothing to justify.

No further evidence for the region's greater landowners survives until the mid-11th century. Shortly before 1044 the monks of the Nea Mone on Chios bought the former monastery of the Theometor, called Ta Kalothekia, which lay in the Erythrai peninsula, for 60 litrai from the sons of Katakalon.[109] 60 litrai, or 4320 nomismata, was a considerable sum of money, and by comparison with other 11th century evidence the monastery should have gained estates covering, at a conservative estimate, well over 1,600 acres - 8,000 modioi or more - producing an annual revenue of between 300 and 400 nomismata.[110] The previous owners, the sons of Katakalon, attempted later to contest the sale but their claim was over-ruled by an Imperial

111. CA 552-3.
112. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 222-3.
113. ibid. 255-6.
114. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 359-60; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 206; SKYLITZES 406, 419, 433, 438, 448-53, 467-9, 483, 500; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 201, 224, 261, 272; ANNA COMNENA I, 20; II, 194; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode de Balchernes' 247-8; G. SCHLUMBERGER, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits' REG II (1889) nr. 22, 256.
115. MM IV, 315-17; see infra 446f.

judgement.[111] By comparison with the minimum value of lands assigned to a cavalryman in the theme army - 4 to 5 litrai according to Constantine VII's novel,[112] or 12 litrai for those covered by Nikephoros Phokas' reform[113] - Ta Kalothekia was a considerable estate, although alone it would not have made the sons of Katakalon outstanding landowners in the region. Despite the chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomarchos which gave judgement against them, it is not known whether they owned more land in the region or not. The Katakalon family were quite prominent during the 10th and 12th centuries; they appear as a military family, possibly with Armenian blood, but again it is not clear how many of those recorded with the name were in fact related.[114] As laymen the sons of Katakalon are likely to have held the monastery of the Theometor as charistikarioi, but beyond that nothing of their role in the region can be inferred from these few references.[115]

A few years later a dispute broke out between the two Latros monasteries of Agrauioloi and the Stylos. The affair certainly reveals links between the Maeander region and Constantinople, but they are those of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which will be discussed in a separate chapter below, and the document of 1049 makes no mention of any laymen at all.[115]

The next evidence for a major landowner in the region comes from the two documents which survive from the dossier which

116. EP I, nr. 1, 5-8.
117. EP I, 87*, 8-11; nr. 13, 119-23; EP II, 22-5; nr. 61,
135-42.
118. EP I, 3-4, plate II; EP II, nr. 50, 3-25, plates I-IV.
119. EP II, nr. 50, 7-20.

confirmed Michael VII's grant of various Imperial estates around Miletos to his cousin, Andronikos Doukas. The grant was made between the autumn of 1072 and February 1073 and included the entire episkepsis of Miletos and a portion of that of Alopekai.[116] The subsequent history of the episkepsis of Miletos is entirely unknown, but at some date before 1204 the lands subject to the Alopekai grant were transferred to the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Theotokos Panachrantos. After the conquest in 1204 the monastery was occupied by the Latins, and in due course the monks of St. John on Patmos successfully appealed to the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris, who granted the Alopekai lands to Patmos in 1216.[117] The monks then set about gathering the necessary documents to safeguard their new acquisition, and as a result the Patmos archive contains early 13th century copies of Michael VII's chrysobull for Alopekai dated February 1073, and the praktikon of the estates, drawn up by the notarios Adam in March of the same year.[118]

The praktikon records the boundaries of the individual estates which made up the whole episkepsis, the paroikoi who lived there, the land they held and the rent they paid. It also records the existence on the estate of Barys of a house and church dedicated to the Theotokos with separate assigned lands; and it lists the icons, books and other fitments belonging to the church.[119]

The information given in this praktikon is of the greatest

120. ibid. 9-11.

121. ibid. 9.

122. ibid. 8, 14.

123. ibid. 9.

importance for the study of the exploitation and organization of the land in Byzantium, but save indirectly it says very little about the position of the owner of such an estate in regional society. By definition rent rolls and other estate documents are focussed on the internal organization of the estate, not on its wider context.

In 1073 the Barys estate was somewhat run down. Reduced rents were being demanded, and slaves and property are listed as missing.[120] The house itself was decayed and the out buildings in ruins.[121] While it had been an Imperial estate there can have been only a limited function for the house which may have been occupied by the protokourator of Barys who is referred to in the praktikon.[122]

Nonetheless the existence of the house and church provides an important insight into local landed society. The house consisted of a domed cross-shaped dining room - a staurotriklinion - with four chambers leading off, but no upper floor, a bath, a stable and a barn. In the past it had been surrounded by vine terraces, olive groves and orchards, but these were overgrown in the 1070s. Close by was a church with a dome supported on eight columns, and a narthex.[123]

In the first place, the house at Barys was not a palace. Great magnates, whether in Constantinople or on the eastern frontier are known to have lived in much grander

124. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine aristocratic oikos' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 92-105; L.-A. HUNT, 'Comnenian aristocratic palace decoration: descriptions and Islamic connections' ibid. 138-47; M. ANGOLD 'Appendix' ibid. 254-6.
125. See supra Chapter four.
126. See supra 122f.
127. e.g. P. RAHTZ, The Saxon and Medieval palaces at Cheddar BAR British Series 65, Oxford (1979) 60-62; N. W. ALCOCK, 'The hall of the Knights Templar at Temple Balsall, W. Midlands' Medieval Archaeology XXVI (1982) 155-8; G. E. CADMAN, 'Raunds 1977-1983: An Excavation Summary', ibid. XXVII (1983) 116-20, figs. 2, 8-9.
128. EP II, nr. 50, 9.

establishments,[124] but the existence of a bath, a straurotriklinion and a private church mark it off very clearly from the humble buildings we have seen in the region's towns.[125] The only possible comparison known in the region which may have been extant at the time is the so-called Bishop's palace at Miletos.[126] In England the house at Barys would be described as a manor house and it appears to have been on a similar scale to excavated examples of prosperous 11th and 12th century English manor houses.[127]

How long it had been in Imperial hands before 1073 is unclear. It may not have been very long, since although several of the candlesticks and other objects belonging to the church had disappeared, most still remained and although Barys was rather delapidated, neither the house itself nor the church were in ruins.[128] Who built it is totally unknown, and neither the praktikon nor the chrysobull suggest an answer; but the fact that it was built at all can be used as evidence for the unknown builder's intentions and lifestyle.

The barn and stables could be interpreted as necessities for an agricultural estate, but the straurotriklinion, the bath and even more the church show that the owner's intentions went beyond this. These buildings show that at least periodically the owner was resident at Barys and that while he was there the house was intended to fulfil an important social function in local society.

129. Kekaumenos was clearly aware of hospitality and feasting, even if he set little store by them: KEKAUMENOS 8, 14, 36, 42-3; see also M.-H. FOURMY, M. LEROY, 'La vie de S. Philarète' B IX (1934) 135-9.

130. EP II, nr. 50, 9.

131. P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 23, 27, 62-3.

Who feasted in the staurotriklinion is a matter for conjecture. Presumably the owner's household in its widest sense; possibly neighbouring landowners and local officials in this part of the Maeander region; possibly even the more prosperous tenants of the estates listed in the praktikon, including the monks of the monastery of Namaton who rented land from Barys, would come there on occasion.[129] Whatever the details the construction of such a permanent structure as this domed staurotriklinion, with echoes of luxurious buildings in Constantinople, was a clear statement of the status of the man who built it and of his intention to establish an interest in local society. Such a hall as this would only have been built for providing food when hospitality had an important social role.

The church is even better evidence for the unknown owner's intentions. Its position in the praktikon together with a list of its contents shows that it was not a parish in a communal sense, but part of the property of Barys.[130] Like the churches described in the near contemporary will of Eustathios Boïlas, it had clearly been built and endowed by the owner of the estate.[131]

The church was quite a developed structure, with a dome resting on a drum, and a narthex and marble pavement; many Byzantine churches were much simpler buildings than this. Similarly its endowment of icons, bronze vessels, lamp fittings and books, while not being in any way lavish, does represent a

132. See for possibly similar structures, A. W. EPSTEIN, 'The Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria in Greek Macedonia: Their Dates and Implications', Art Bulletin LXII (1980) 190-207.
133. See P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 23, 27.
134. See A. BRYER, 'The Byzantine Church in the Street', BBBS XIII (1987) 45.
135. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine aristocratic oikos' 95.

considerable investment. The builder of the church did not have in mind a mere chapel for occasional use but a church that would do him credit with God and men.[132] The praktikon is silent on the matter, but it is also possible that he intended the church to be a family mausoleum with a priest to say prayers for the dead.[133] A further desire for public display of the founder's piety is suggested by the two processional crosses that were still in the church in 1073; no doubt in due season the priest took the icons out in procession round the estate.[134]

As with the staurotriklinion, the church's congregation has to be left to conjecture; presumably the household attended, and very likely on occasion the paroikoi as well, who may even have been buried there. In any case both buildings are evidence of their builder's desire to play an influential role in local society.

However, discussion of these buildings is taking us away from the world of great landowning magnates. The former owner of Barys would have been a prosperous figure in local terms, but there is nothing in the house, church, or recorded estates to suggest great wealth. It can be asserted with confidence that a real magnate, such as Andronikos Doukas, would never have lived there.[135]

Until his death in 1077 from injuries received at the battle of Zompos, Andronikos Doukas was one of the pre-eminent

136. D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 3-6, 34-41, 55-9.
137. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 145, 167, 173.
138. SATHAS MB V, Ep. 71, 306-7; ANNA COMNENA II, 127-8, 130;
III, 88, 91; NIKETAS CHONIATES 64-5; KINNAMOS 73-4.
139. ANNA COMNENA I, 81-2; c.f. D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 41.

figures of the later 11th century Byzantine court. He was a soldier and the most successful general supporting the regime of his cousin, Michael VII. The Doukai seem by origin to have been a military family involved with the armies on the eastern frontier, but they had risen to power by establishing a position in court and at Constantinople.[136] By choice the Caesar John Doukas and his sons, Andronikos and Constantine, spent their time in the Imperial city. The decline of their influence over Michael VII in favour of Nikephoritzes reflects the outcome of struggles at court; absence from Constantinople could let in rivals and no account suggests that any hypothetical support in the provinces had a bearing on these developments. They only seem to have moved out of the capital when military duties demanded, or when forced by political circumstances, and on those occasions they stayed as close to Constantinople as possible.[137] According to the narrative sources for this period and the letters of Michael Psellos, the main estates of his branch of the Doukas family lay in Bithynia and Thrace within about one or two days' journey of Constantinople. Andronikos' father, the Caesar John, owned a hunting estate on the coastal plain of Choirobakchoi, about 19 kilometres west of the city on the road to Thessalonika,[138] and a property called Ta Moroboundou at a similar distance from Constantinople, where the Caesar was staying in April 1081 when he received news of the outbreak of the revolt of Comneni.[139] Up to the late 1070s, however, the major part of his estates lay in Bithynia in the vicinity of the Sapanca Gölü, some 24 kilometres east of

140. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 145, 173 and n. 1; the bulk of the family's property appears to have been in Constantinople where Michael VII could confiscate it: ATTALEIATES 188.
141. C. MORISSON, 'La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XIe siècle: essai d'interprétation', TM VI (1976) 7-10; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 307-9.
142. See supra 365-7.

Nikomedia, which itself was less than a day's sail from Constantinople. Here the Caesar had what Nikephoros Bryennios calls a basilea, a palace, and a fortress on the slopes of the Sabanca dag. This was where the Doukai came to hunt, and where in the autumn of 1073 Andronikos and his father went into involuntary retirement as their influence declined at court. It was also at the Sabanca palace that the Caesar was proclaimed Emperor by Roussel de Bailleul in 1074, and in the fortress above that Andronikos' children were held hostage.[140]

A journey to western Asia Minor to visit the new estates around Miletos would have been an unprofitable diversion for Andronikos, taking him away from the seat of his family's power and influence, and offering rivals the opportunity to take advantage of his absence.

The grant was almost certainly made because in 1073 Michael VII's government was facing financial difficulties. Andronikos Doukas had just defeated the attempt by the previous Emperor, Romanos IV Diogenes, to recover the throne, and the victorious general needed reward. It offered considerable advantages to pay Andronikos with a section of the Imperial estates rather than by another roga to be drawn from the already depleted treasury.[141] The grant is in fact a precedent for those made by Alexios I Comnenos to Gregory Pakourianos and Leo Kephalas a decade later.[142]

143. EP II, nr. 50, 8, 14, 20, 33-4 n. 50.
144. Lavra I, nr. 35, 206; A. GUILLOU, Le brébeion de la metropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050) Vatican (1974) 218-19, 226, 526; see D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, 'Un évêché byzantin: Hiérissos en Chalcidique', TM VIII (1981) 384; J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les 'offikia' 304.
145. PETER OF ATROA 177.
146. SKYLITZES 367.

The *praktikon* also shows how such estates were managed in their owners' absence, making a visit by Andronikos unnecessary. The details of their organization remain unclear, but essentially as Imperial estates the lands of Alopekai were administered by a protokourator and an episkeptites who collected rent and were in general responsible for their management. In return they received a small part of the estates' revenue.[143] This system of management by kouratores was not simply an official practice, but is a reflection of the less well documented management of private and ecclesiastical estates. Bishops' *kouratores* appear among the signatories of episcopal acts[144] and there are also occasional references to private lay *kouratores*. In the Life of St. Peter of Atroa, written in the 9th century, a certain Eustathios is a *kourator* for the *protospatharios* Staurakios, a wealthy man who lives in Constantinople. The *kourator*'s visit to St. Peter takes place while he is on his way to the *Opsikon* where he has been sent to supervise the collection of rent and other matters concerning estates owned by Staurakios in that theme.[145] Private *kouratores* are again mentioned in 1022 when four were killed by the rebel Pharses in eastern Anatolia.[146] That there are not more references to lay *kouratores* simply reflects the nature and scarcity of the surviving sources.

The final evidence of this type does not actually concern the Maeander region, but it stands as something of an exception and therefore should not be ignored. It comes from the group of documents associated with St. Christodoulos and the early history

147. I am indebted to Professor C. Foss, who has visited the site, for this information; see also L. ROBERT, Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques Paris (1938) 165-6 and n. 4; G. COUSIN, C. DIEHL, 'Inscriptions d'Halicarnasse', BCH XIV (1890) 120-21; G. E. BEAN, J. M. COOK, 'The Carian Coast III', BSA LII (1957) 88.
148. MM VI, 62-3; EP I, 22*-9*; E. L. VRANOUSE, 'Chrysoboullon Nikephorou tou Botaneiatou uper tēs en Strobiloi monēs tou Prodromou (1079)', EEBS XXXIII (1964) 65; for Arsenios' community on Kos, see EP I, nr. 3, 25-7.
149. MM VI, 62-3; EP I, 29*-31*, nr. 4, 33-4; nr. 5, 44-7.
150. MM VI, 63-5; EP I, 31*-49*.

of the monastery of St. John on Patmos.

In 1079 Christodoulos, who was protos of the holy mountain, left Latros for Strobilos, an important Byzantine naval base in the theme of the Kibyrrhaiotai. The site has been identified with a fortified hill a few kilometres to the south-east of modern Bodrum, overlooking the channel between the Bodrum peninsula and the island of Kos.[147] There he was welcomed by Arsenios Skenoures, a wealthy ascetic and founder of a small community on Kos, who gave Christodoulos the abbacy of a monastery in Strobilos which he had inherited.[148]

From there, as the Turkish advance came closer, Christodoulos moved to Kos, where he founded a monastery to the Theotokos. The site was on land given by Arsenios Skenoures, who also endowed the new foundation with a further two estates on the island. Christodoulos was quick to establish his authority, and within five years he had obtained an Imperial chrysobull which confirmed his ownership of these lands.[149]

Kos, however, was not to be his permanent home. Apparently too many visitors, brought by ships which used the coastal route by Kos, disturbed the saint's eremia, and in 1087 Christodoulos went to Constantinople where he persuaded the Emperor Alexios I Comnenos to grant him lands on the bleak and sparsely populated island of Patmos.[150] In 1092 the naval advance of the Turks forced Christodoulos to abandon the island, and he took refuge on

151. MM VI, 91-3; EP I, 49*-55*.
152. MM VI 63, 65; EP I, 28*-9*, 19; the variant spellings Kabaloures/Kaballoures/Kaballourios are all attested in late 11th or early 12th century manuscripts, MM VI, 65; EP I, 4*, 15-17.
153. SKYLITZES 432.
154. EP I, nr. 2, 17.
155. ibid. 17-22; MM VI, 65, 88.

Euboea in the western Aegean. He died there eleven months later on 16 March 1094.[151]

Christodoulos' patron at Strobilos and on Kos, Arsenios Skenoures, was clearly a prosperous individual, at least in local terms, but he seems to have inherited the greater part of his property from Constantine Kaballourios, who is named in a chrysobull of 1079.[152]

Constantine was both a member of a well known family in Imperial service, and he himself had a senior court title. A patrikios Constantine Kaballourios had been strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 1043 when he was killed by the Russians;[153] his namesake, who died shortly before the chrysobull was issued in 1079, held the rank of vestarch.[154] The younger Constantine was also a local landowner with estates on Kos and on Leros, and property in Strobilos, on which he had founded a monastery of the Prodromos. He died childless and with work on the monastery still in progress. His sister, the nun Maria, took up the task and successfully petitioned the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates to have the monastery made independent from the local bishop.[155]

Amongst the evidence discussed so far, Constantine Kaballourios appears to be the only case for which there is documentary evidence to show a relatively high ranking court official residing on his estates in the provinces, and building a

156. See supra n. 40.

157. N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 125-6.

158. e.g. Eustathios, vestarch, epi tou koitonos kai eidikos, February 1045, CA 541; V. LAURENT, Vatican nr. 83, 72-3; IDEM, Orghidan nr. 234, 126; IDEM, Corpus II, nr. 324, 155; nr. 434, 211; nr. 550, 275; nr. 800, 418; nr. 801, 419; nr. 849, 448; nr. 1023, 561; nrs. 1026-7, 562-3 (this is the seal of Michael Machetarios, vestarch and eparch; neither rank, date nor appointment would be appropriate if this were the same Michael Machetarios, vestarch, who is mentioned in a document of June 1087, EP I, nr. 47, 334).

159. e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 173, 82; nr. 1084, 597; nr. 1179, 660; W. SEIBT, Österreich nr. 151, 286; see also EP I, 350.

monastery there to confirm his interest. He would also seem to have left the property to a local figure in Arsenios Skenoures rather than to an outsider.

At the beginning of the 13th century many of the records for the Kaballourios estates seem to have survived at Patmos. A list of the monastery's archives compiled at that date includes fifty for Strobilos and Kos alone. Of these only three survive: Nikephoros III Botaneiates' chrysobull for Constantine's sister, Maria; the same Emperor's chrysobull for Arsenios Skenoures; and Alexios I Comnenos' chrysobull for Christodoulos on Kos.[156] On the basis of this slender evidence a number of interpretations of the Kaballourios family's role in local society are possible. In particular there are reasons to think that the case of Constantine Kaballourios was exceptional, and that he should not be taken as a model for the upper levels of landed society in the region as a whole.

In the first place some negative conclusions can be drawn from Constantine's title. The 1070s was a period of particular flux in the distribution of titles amongst the Byzantine hierarchy,[157] but certainly by that date a vestarch was no longer in the front rank of palatine officials. Up to the 1050s it had still been a very senior title, but it had subsequently declined. Theme judges and high civil officials such as the logothete of the stratiotikon who had often been vestarchs, even in the late 1050s,[158] were by the 1070s protovestarchs,[159]

160. e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 223, 105; nr. 327, 156-7; nr. 435, 211-12; nr. 437, 213; nr. 438, 213-4; nr. 621, 316-7; nr. 886, 464-5; nr. 1113, 616-7; DO 55.1.3137; F 1335; F 1496; F 1973; see C. DIEHL, 'De la signification du titre de proedre a Byzance' 110-14.
161. e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 253, 121-2; nr. 850, 448-9 (see supra); nr. 876, 460 (Seibt's dating of this seal to the 1070s is preferable to that given by Laurent); nr. 1032, 566-7; IDEM, Vatican nr. 110, 111 (see W. SEIBT, Osterreich nr. 99, 225-6); W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi nr. 21, 92; nr. 22, 95-6; nr. 24, 99; nr. 27, 102-5; see also C. DIEHL, 'De la signification du titre de proedre' 114-17.
162. See EP I, 350.
163. See G. SCHLUMBERGER, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits (sixième série)', RN IV (1916) nr. 311, 38: Basil Irathos, protovestarch, judge of the velum and the Kibyrrhaiotai; F133, F267: Basil Tzirithron, protovestarch, judge of the velum and the Kibyrrhaiotai (for an interpretation of Basil Tzirithron's career, see V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1032, 566-7.
164. V. LAURENT, Orghidan nr. 234, 126.
165. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 166.
166. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 967, 526.
167. Lavra I, nr. 44, 243-4, March 1082; Leo Kephalas was magistros by April 1084, and proedros by may 1086: ibid. nr. 45, 246-7; nr. 48, 258-9.
168. H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer 133-5, 159-61.
169. ANNA COMNENA II, 110.
170. H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer 57, 101, 165.

proedroi[160] and commonly protoproedroi.[161] Some senior officials still were vestarchs in the 1070s,[162] but not the judge of the Kibyrrhaiotai;[163] Constantine cannot have been the theme judge.

The title, however, was not exclusively one for civilians; several military figures were vestarchs. A strategos of Stenon,[164] a doux[165] and a drougarios of the fleet[166] are attested with this title, as is Leo Kephalas, the future defender of Larissa against the Normans, who had been vestarch in 1082.[167] Constantine Kaballourios might also fit into this context.

By the 1060s and 70s the Kibyrrhaiotai was no longer the major provincial fleet that it had been in the first half of the century. However, although organized on different lines, local naval units did continue to operate in the Aegean, no doubt employing the naval personnel who had staffed the former thematic fleets.[168] Naval warfare and the maintenance of a fleet, however small, requires a core of experienced and professional sailors, shipbuilders and repairers. That the Turkish Emir Çaka was able to raise a powerful fleet in the 1090s shows that a maritime population was still there to be used.[169]

Strobilos had been one of principal naval bases for the Kibyrrhaiotai,[170] and almost certainly continued as such even after the local naval forces had been reorganized. Constantine

171. MM VI, 82, -86, 93.

Kaballourios the elder had been a prominent naval commander, in fact the last attested strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai. Like the armies on the eastern frontier the professional demands of naval warfare would have created a group of officers, resident in the theme but with senior court titles reflecting their military rank. It seems likely that the younger Constantine Kaballourios named in the chrysobull of 1079 was one of such a group. Constantine Kaballourios may therefore reflect more the special circumstances of Strobilos and its naval community than the pattern of the local elite in general.

Some support for this interpretation is suggested by the early history of the monastery of St. John on Patmos and Christodoulos' attempts to find a lay guardian and successor in charge of the monastery. It may only have been a consequence of the Turkish conquest of the west coast, but it does stand out that Christodoulos seems to have made no attempt to find a successor with local connections. He himself went to Constantinople to petition the Emperor, and his chosen successor was a member of the Patriarch's court in the Imperial city - a Constantinopolitan, who in the event after Christodoulos' death refused to have anything to do with this distant and isolated monastery.[171]

Similarly, although the bias of the surviving evidence may distort the picture, the Patmos archives show no trace of the involvement of major local laymen until the 13th century. All

172. EP I, 59*-91*.

the 12th century evidence is for minor local figures, while the major benefactors and patrons always came from Constantinople.[172]

THE SAINTS' LIVES.

The negative impression given by this survey of the documentary evidence is interesting but not decisive. On the basis of this alone one would perhaps note the curious failure of the sources to mention the archives of magnates with a role both in Constantinople and the provinces, but put it down to the bias of surviving evidence: lay archives do not survive; the monasteries have only preserved those material which they felt to have long term significance. The natural conclusion would be that almost nothing was known of the Maeander region's social and political structure.

What allows one to go beyond this is the survival of three important Saint's lives from the 10th and 11th century Maeander region, which provide an overview that strikingly confirms the fragmentary evidence of the documentary materials.

The three Lives are those of St. Nikephoros of Miletos, St. Paul of Latros and St. Lazaros of mount Galesion. The first was written by an outsider to the region, possibly a Sicilian, but

173. See H.-G. BECK, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich 267-75, 557-82; C. MANGO, Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome 246-50.

the other two were both composed by local figures who had known their subjects, and wrote at least a first version within a decade or two of their saint's death.

Saints' Lives in the 10th and 11th century were written within a conventional framework which ultimately derived from an amalgum of the Gospel accounts of the life of Christ with the formalizing tradition of Roman rhetoric. By the 10th century any hagiographer would write conscious of the format imposed by a huge genre, whose products made up a great part of current Byzantine literature. Within the constraints of the genre, the presentation of 'real life' (the concrete world in which the saint operated) ranges from the entirely conventional in which the name of the particular saint is put into a stereotyped model - amounting to little short of pious fiction - to the vivid description of the reality of a man's life, environment and historical circumstances.[173]

Hagiography even at its most graphic is obviously not an unbiased genre, but for the purposes of taking an overview of provincial society it deserves confidence.

In Byzantine monasticism there were two strands of tradition: one was the coenobitic or communal which looked to the rule of St. Basil of Caesarea; the other was the lavriote, where monks lived in separate cells practising an asceticism inspired by the example of St. Anthony and numerous desert fathers. They would generally only gather for a weekly

174. D. PAPACHRYSSTHOU, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e au XI^e siècle: Ermitages, groupes communautaires', B XLIII (1973) 158-80; R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries' Byzantinische Forschungen X (1985) 185-215.
175. See H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XI^e siècles' ZRVI X (1967) 1-27; P. LEMERLE, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: Les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistocaires', Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1967) 9-28.

eucharist, and the 'monastery' amounted to no more than a loose confederation.

By the 11th century the originally distinct traditions had tended to merge so that many monasteries consisted of a community living a common life, with a small number of ascetics in the lavriote tradition living slightly apart.[174] In fact by this date a more important distinction lay in whether a monastery was independent or under a variety of episcopal, patriarchal or lay control. Outside Constantinople the vast majority of monasteries were probably subject to their local bishop as the canons intended, but a few houses were either subject directly to the Patriarch or had been granted their independence by an Imperial chrysobull. In the latter case, such as with the monasteries of St. John on Patmos or the Nea Moni on Chios, they could chose to be free from outside interference but all other categories were liable to become effectively lay property through the mechanism of the Charistikariate. This could on occasion be a benefit, but it also exposed a monastery to the threat of asset stripping.[175]

Monasticism was without doubt one of the pillars of Byzantine culture, and as such it was thriving in the 10th and 11th centuries; monasteries by contrast, were rather weak institutions and most appear to have been short lived. Among the factors which could influence a monastery's prospects for survival, paramount was its relationship with its lay

176. See J. P. THOMAS, 'The crisis of Byzantine ecclesiastical foundations, 964-1025', Byzantinische Forschungen IX (1985) 255-74; R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons' 215-31; IDEM, 'The Byzantine aristocracy and the monasteries' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 112-37.
177. EP I, nr. 2, 15-22.
178. EP I, nr. 15, 136, 138; EP II, nr. 69, 194, 201.
179. EP II, nr. 70, 198-205; see also V. LAURENT, Les regestes I/4, nr. 1354, 158-9.
180. See Lavra I, 56-74: St. Athanasios' foundation is a particularly successful example of a monastery which was able to attract new patrons after the founder's death and outside the family of the original benefactors, e.g. ibid. nr. 20, 155-61.
181. Readings aloud from the Lives of the Saints were a common feature of monastic life, see e.g. P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômène', REB XLIII (1985) 89; Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae V-VI; PAUL OF LATROS 127; LAZAROS 565, 574; private lay individuals also owned copies of Lives which they could read to themselves; Eustathios Boilas owned a copy of the Life of St. Michael Maleinos in 1059, P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 25; see also the books owned Michael Attaleiates or acquired by the foundation after his death, P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliatè' 125-7; and the injunctions to reading given by Kekaumenos: KEKAUMENOS 19, 47; N. G. WILSON, 'Books and readers in Byzantium', in Byzantine Books and Bookmen Washington DC (1975) 4-8; E. PATLAGEAN, 'Sainteté et pouvoir' in The Byzantine Saint 101-3.

patrons.[176] In a monastery founded by a layman, such as that of Prodomos at Strobilos founded by Constantine Kaballourios and his sister,[177] or that on Kos founded by Nikephoros Ampelas,[178] much depended on the survival of the founding family. In the case of the Ampelas monastery, after the founder's death the bishop of Kos illegally appropriated several of the more valuable properties.[179] For those monasteries which owed their origins to a community gathering around a charismatic holyman survival would depend upon the ability to attract influential patrons and persuade them to make generous bequests, and safeguard the monastery's interests.[180]

Neither the monasteries on the holy mountain of Latros nor the more recent foundations on Mykale or Galesion, where St. Nikephoros and St. Lazaros respectively passed their ascetic careers had had lay founders, and all were to an extent dependent on keeping up their reputation as holy places and centres of spiritual power.

The writing of a Life could provide a useful piece of propoganda. It could not only be read by potential patrons, but would have been read aloud to the community and to visitors.[181] For such a monastery the founder's Life was above all intended to demonstrate the founder's sanctity. The Byzantine world did not have, and never developed, a formal process of canonisation. Saints were figures whose lives fitted into the model imposed by over 600 years of hagiography and around whom a cult had

182. See E. PATLAGEAN, 'Sainteté et pouvoir' 88-105; J. A MUNITIZ, 'Self-canonisation: the Partial Account of Nikephoros Blemmydes' ibid. 164-8.
183. e.g. V. LAURENT, La vita retracta 135-71; 'Vita de S. Ioannikio monacho', AS Nov. II, 383; F. DVORNIK, La vie de saint Gregoire le Decapolite 72-4; 'Excerpta vitae Lucae iunioris', PG CXI, 477-9; E. MARTINI, 'Supplementum ad acta S. Lucae iunioris', AB XIII (1894) 107-21; 'S. Petri episcopi Argivi historia et sermones', ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, rome (1888) 14-15; Vitae duae antiquae S. Athanasii Athonitae 177-23, 203-12.
184. e.g. V. LAURENT, La vita retracta 137-8, 143, 149; Vitae duae antiquae 74-8, 107, 176-9; LAZAROS 556-68.
185. See in general, C. GALATARIOTOU, 'Byzantine ktetorika typika: a comparative study', REB XLV (1987) 108-33.
186. e.g. PETER OF ATROA 139-43, 149-55, 177-9, 209-11; 'Excerpta vitae Lucae iunioris' 464-5, 467-9, 472-3; E. MARTINI, 'Supplementum ad acta S. Lucae iunioris' 98-100, 106-7.

developed. A Life was a vital part of this process and obviously to have been founded by a recognized saint, who could intercede for a patron at the court of heaven, markedly increased a monastery's chances of survival.[182]

To stress that even after the saint's death the monastery continued to be a centre of spiritual power, a Life would often contain accounts of posthumous miracles usually associated with the saint's grave in the monastery church.[183] Biographies of the holy lives followed by the late saint's monks and disciples also served this end, showing how the sanctity of the founder had been passed on to his successors.[184]

For the monks themselves the Life could provide a model, illustrating and confirming the instructions laid down in the typikon.[185] In this way the Life could help to reinforce the monastery's sense of community, showing how they had overcome trials in the past and would do so again, provided they lived up to the ideals of their founder.

In addition to these functions the Life also advertised the wide and distinguished social connections which the founder had built up. A prospective patron would hopefully be inspired by the generosity of his predecessors to emulate their bequests. A reminder of the high ranking clientele who had attended the saint would also give the monastery an aura of status which might attract a new generation of influential patrons.[186]

187. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 130-31, 134; K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 181-2; the Life gives the spelling Basileon, NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 134; for Basileion as an 'early spelling' see V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, nr. 343, 245.
188. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 131 et passim.

The Lives of St. Paul of Latros and St. Lazaros of mount Galesion are particularly good examples of this type of detailed monastic hagiography, and both are keen to record their saint's links with the laity. The point of view of each can fairly be regarded as limited, and possibly eccentric (in the strict sense), but they do provide the nearest available to a reliable overview of local society in the lower Maeander region.

The other Life, that of St. Nikephoros of Miletos, is of a rather different character. It survives in a single 12th century manuscript and appears to have been written by a Sicilian who had come to the saint's birthplace of Basilaion, in the Boukellarion on the main road between Ankara and Constantinople.[187] The Life shows that its author had spoken to several of those who had known St. Nikephoros, but that he had not known the saint himself nor had he any access to another detailed written source. At times the narrative is rather bald and the author makes weight with rhetorical elaborations and apposite quotation from the Bible, the early fathers and other late Roman christian writers.[188]

As a result the Life of St. Nikephoros is considerably shorter than the other two - it is under half that of the Life of St. Paul of Latros - more stereotyped and closer in character to the hagiography found in the Synaxarium of Constantinople. The Life was evidently not written for the benefit of the Xerochoraphion; it may possibly have been aimed at an audience

189. ibid. 143-6.
190. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xerochoraphion' 16-19, 40.
191. T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 98 (the manuscripts include the 14th century Bodleian MS Baroccianus 192, fol. 3r-30v).
192. LAZAROS 503.
193. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire' 7-9.

in the saint's birthplace at Basilaion, but otherwise the author's intention is quite obscure.

A full scale monastic Life of St. Nikephoros almost certainly once existed. St. Nikephoros must in the later 10th century have been a figure of some notoriety: an archbishop who had abandoned his see to found an ascetic community in the mountains.[189] By the mid 11th century at the latest, the Xerochoraphion acquired substantial estates confirmed by Imperial chrysobull, and the monastery continued to prosper through the 13th century.[190] Such a selfconscious and wealthy institution would be very unlikely not to have acquired a full Life of its founder. Its loss however is hardly remarkable. The Life of St. Paul of Latros has been preserved in nine medieval manuscripts,[191] but more typical is the Life of St. Lazaros which has only survived through a single 14th century manuscript at the Great Lavra on mount Athos. The manuscript includes a colophon in which the scribe notes that it was copied from a manuscript of the Life salvaged from the sack of Galesion by the Turks. The manuscript passed through the hands of a perfumer who before selling it on to someone who took it to Constantinople, cut out eight or more folios which correspond to gaps in the present text.[192] The cartulary of the Xerochoraphion is another example of a narrow escape and has only been pieced together from scattered fragments found in other manuscripts.[193]

194. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136-45; see P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 282-6.
195. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.
196. ibid. 144.
197. SKYLITZES 318; YAHYA ; the name Sachakios suggests an Armenian background, H. ACARYAN, Hayoc'Anjnanunneri Bararan.
198. See supra

The extant Life of St. Nikephoros is therefore not an ideal source, but it is remarkable that it survives at all. It preserves an account of a 10th century archbishop's education, appointment and activities,[194] not found elsewhere, and it does give some brief indications of the laymen who were prominent in the lower Maeander during the 960s and 70s.

The first mentioned are the anonymous agents of the sekreton of the Myrelaion who had taken over the archiepiscopal estates during the vacancy.[195] To effect their expulsion Nikephoros had to appeal to Constantinople, and the new Emperor John Tzimiskes sent a certain Sachakios to deal with the matter.[196] The Emperor's agent, whom the Life accuses of attempting to poison the saint, may well have been the Sachakios Brachamios who was an ally of Michael Bourtzes in the 960s and in 976 joined the rebellion of Bardas Skleros. The Life implies that he was sent from Constantinople specifically to restore the archbishop's estates, and there is no suggestion that he was either a local figure or permanent official.[197]

The other major lay figures in the Life are "Ampelas and the other archontes of Asia" who were discussed above. The archontes are almost certainly the officers of the theme army of the Thrakesioi; Ampelas may have been the strategos.[198]

Otherwise the only local laymen to be mentioned is a certain Philippos, a cloth seller, who regularly visited the

199. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 160.
200. PAUL OF LATROS 130-31.
201. ibid. 122, 125.
202. ibid. 107, 117-18, et passim.
203. e.g. ibid. 120-21: apparent addition of Demetrios to the story.

saint on matters to do with his craft. He appears as the subject of a posthumous miracle.[199]

Of the other two Lives, that of St. Paul of Latros was written about 20 years, or slightly more, after the saint's death on 15th December 956.[200] The exact date is uncertain but the Life refers to a monk named Luke whose corpse remained uncorrupted for 17 years. Since St. Paul died before Luke this is the minimum period after which the Life could have been composed.[201] The terminus ante quem is less secure. The author appears to have been on mount Latros during the saint's lifetime and to have known the saint, even if he seems to have been more familiar with the younger monks, such as Symeon who was abbot at the time of writing.[202] The Life also shows signs that some stories were amended to include particular individuals, which would imply that they were still alive at the time.[203] In view of the generally short expectancy of life in the Middle Ages, much more than 20 years after 956 the principal characters would almost certainly have been dead and much of the incidental and somewhat unconventional detail would no longer have been relevant.

The detailed knowledge of local toponymy shows that the Life was written in the Maeander region, but it could be argued that its perspective is distorting. The Life of St. Paul of Latros is not a product of atypical Byzantine monastery and the factors which may have influenced its composition should be borne

204. ibid. 121-2, 127; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 430.
205. See R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries' 190-92.
206. MM IV, 307-15.

in mind.

By the second third of the 10th century mount Latros was a famous holy mountain, enjoying exceptional links with the Imperial court.[204] Over the course of the century religious life on Latros, as on other holy mountains, became more organized.[205] The setting up of the Stylos monastery by St. Paul was part of this process. The new monastery, which came increasingly to be known as St. Paul's after its founder, had to compete with other communities for patronage. Close to the time of writing Stylos was involved in a dispute over grazing rights on the mountain with the Kellibara - another older monastery mentioned in the Life. The case went to Constantinople where a well known founder, familiar to those at court, must have been a useful asset.[206]

True to the model of Christ and St. Anthony, St. Paul spent a great part of his career amidst the uninhabited wilds of Latros; yet he was not cut off from the local laity and the Life highlights their presence. The Life may have been written principally for a Constantinopolitan audience, but the provincial world of the Maeander was not ignored. There is no reason to think that there were significant groups in local society of whom the Life makes no mention.

As a rough guide laymen in the Life can be divided into three categories: peasant villagers, local 'gentry', often

207. PAUL OF LATROS 126.

208. F. DÖLGER, J. KARAYANNOPULOS, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre
123-6 ; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, 5, 20-49; see supra

209. R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 509.

210. PAUL OF LATROS 127.

holding minor office, and those with Imperial titles and at least higher office.

The third group consists of no more than three individuals, each of whom was an outsider to the region. The first is a certain Baanes who was saved from shipwreck by an appeal to St. Paul. The Life says that he was close to the saint and had always found him a help in time of trouble.[207] Baanes was one of the choros of aserkretai, the Imperial secretaries who worked in Constantinople and would have been recruited, like the theme judges, from Constantinopolitan families.[208] When threatened by a storm he had been sailing to the island of Oxeia, one of the Princes' Islands in the sea of Marmara, close to the capital, and frequently used as a state prison.[209] This hardly suggest a provincial background.

The second high ranking layman in the Life is the patrikios Photios who visited the saint with a letter from the Emperor Constantine VII. Just before he left with the saint's reply, St. Paul asked Photios to lay a piece of cloth over the Mandyllion icon of Christ and send it back to him.[210]

The Life describes Photios as a famous man, very illustrious and a favoured servant of the Emperor Constantine. This is evidently the same patrikios Photios who appears in Theophanes Continuatus' Book VI, where he is sent by Constantine to the theme of the Thrakesioi in order to deal with the

211. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 443-4.
212. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, 'De Imagine Edessae' PG CXIII, 449; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 432; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 918-19.
213. See R. GUILLAND, 'Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Les titres auliques de eunuques. Le protospatharie', B XXV-XXVI-XXVII (1955-56-57) 661-8.

injustices suffered by the penetes at the hands of the dunatoi. [211] No date is given, but the context shows that this was one of the earliest acts of Constantine's sole rule after the coup of December 944. Photios' visit to the saint is likely to have taken place at the same time, hence c.945; a hypothesis which is strengthened by the reference to the Mandyllion. This icon, "not made by human hands", had been extracted from the Emir of Edessa in exchange for a cessation of hostilities, and had arrived in Constantinople on 15th August 944. [212] St. Paul's interest in the icon would have been natural at just this period when Imperial propaganda was trumpeting this evidence of Byzantine success.

St. Paul's visitor was thus only in the Maeander region on a temporary commission; indeed had anything else been the case he could hardly have been appointed to deal with the problems of the local penetes. Photios is another example of a high ranking outsider.

The third such individual is the protospatharios Michael. Still at this date his title of protospatharios was indicative of a fairly senior office and a position at court. [213] Like Baanes, Michael appears in the Life as one who successfully appealed to the saint in time of trouble. The Life tells how during the reign of Constantine VII between 945 and 956 he was the curator of some unnamed Imperial estates that suffered from the persistent raids of neighbours called Mauroi. Michael

214. PAUL OF LATROS 123.

215. C.f. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 22.

decided upon a counter attack in which several of the Mauroi were killed. The latter duly appealed to the Emperor for redress, and Michael was recalled, tried and sentenced to death. At this point Michael, who is said to know the saint well, appealed to Paul for help. The saint at once celebrated the liturgy and then ordered a letter to be sent to the prisoner's oikos telling them that he had already been released. As soon as Michael learnt what part St. Paul had played in his deliverance, he left Constantinople and hastened to mount Latros. He later made a generous donation to the monastery.[214]

Michael appears to have lived in Constantinople. According to the Life after his release he was still in Constantinople when he learnt that St. Paul had prophesied his deliverance in a letter to his oikos; the Life also implies that he only left Constantinople for the specific purpose of visiting mount Latros and thanking the saint. The obvious interpretation of the passage is that the oikos was in Constantinople too.

Michael's lawless neighbours, the Mauroi, have proved difficult to identify. It has been suggested that they are either African Arabs settled in western Asia Minor or a powerful local family.[215] There is no evidence to support either conclusion.

In the first place the Life does not say where these events took place, and there is no grounds for the assumption that they

216. C.f. R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons' 225.
217. e.g. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 185; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode de Blachernes' 218, 257; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 886, 464-5; nr. 1189, 665-6; ANNA COMNENA III, 138; LAZAROS 524-5; PLP nrs. 17483-17502.
218. PETER OF ATROA 116-17 n. 2.
219. See J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organization of the Byzantine Army 188 - 258 ; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'organisation de la frontiere orientale dy byzance aux Xe-XIe siecles et le taktikon de l'Escorial' Actes du XIVE Congres International des Etudes Byzantines I, Bucharest (1974) 288-90, nn. 19, 20, 25, 31; 295-7, 301-2.

occured in the vicinity of mount Latros.[216] Michael was well known to St. Paul and there were Imperial estates around Miletos, but there is no reason to link these facts or to associate them with the story of the Mauroi. The Imperial estates that Michael administered could have been in many parts of the Empire, and equally he could have met St. Paul during a previous appointment to the Thrakesioi or perhaps even on Samos.

Mauros appears quite frequently as a name in the 10th and 11th centuries,[217] and the word also had a common meaning in Byzantine Greek of 'demon',[218] but this does not help to place these events in any particular part of the Empire. As a hypothesis, I would suggest that the story of raiding and counter-raiding, and the harassing of the penetes (in this case possibly peasant farmers) of the Imperial estates, does seem most appropriate for the eastern frontier. From the 930s onwards large Imperial estates were established in the region, and there is also evidence for chronic raiding and local violence, in particular among the Armenians and Arabs.[219] The use of Mauroi in the Life would not disprove it being a family name, but the repeated use of the plural and the number of Mauroi indicated by this local warfare would be more easily explained if they were a rather larger group. Part of an Arab tribe allied to the Byzantines would, for example, fit the Life's story very well.

Apart from these three outsiders, the aseketis Baanes, the patrikios Photios and the protospatharios Michael, the Life is

220. PAUL OF LATROS 119.

221. See J. DARROUZES, 'Listes de prôtes de l'Athos' Le millenaire du mont Athos 963-1963 Chevtogne (1963) 407-47; MM VI, 62.

222. P. LEMERLE, Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius I, 179, 209; Lavra IV.

223. For hunting as the occupation of an élite, see the references in P. KOUKOULES, Vie et Civilisation V, Athens (1952) 387-42.

224. PAUL OF LATROS 119-20.

225. See infra

226. P. BROWN, 'The rise and function of the holyman in late antiquity' in Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity London (1982) 103-52.

227. PAUL OF LATROS 127.

228. ibid. 122-3, 128-9.

entirely concerned with local laymen, none of whom holds high office or appears to be very wealthy or powerful.

At the upper end of the range comes such a figure as Theophanes, who the Life calls "protos of the island [of Samos]".[220] Save in the monastic context, which is inapplicable here,[221] protos is not an official term but simply means 'chief' or 'first'. The term could be used, for example, to refer to important citizens or to a village elder.[222] It does not necessarily imply great wealth or power, and there is no indication that that was the case here. Theophanes was wealthy enough to keep a horse and hunting dogs,[223] but his generosity to the saint amounted to no more than a ladder and a supply of food; he is clearly distinguished in the Life from the Strategos of Samos who appears in the previous chapter.[224]

Otherwise the laity range from independent small farmers to poor peasants. Nowhere is there evidence of a group of land-owning magnates.[225]

The Life shows St. Paul acting in much the same way as the Syrian holymen whose role P. Brown has drawn to the historian's attention.[226] St. Paul acted as a patron for the lower Maeander both at the court of heaven and at the court of the earthly Emperor, nearly as remote in Constantinople. In the same way as his Syrian predecessors, listening to whose Lives made him jump with delight,[227] St. Paul foretold the future,[228]

229. ibid. 113-14.

230. ibid. 119, 133-4.

231. ibid. 116-17.

232. ibid. 133.

233. ibid. 124.

234. ibid. 119.

235. ibid. 135.

236. P. BROWN, 'The rise and function of the holyman' 116-21.

defeated demons,[229] cured illness,[230] brought droughts,[231] famine and cattle pest to an end,[232] and cursed the unrighteous.[233] He also interceded on behalf of the local population with judges and strategoi sent from the seat of earthly power in the Imperial city. On two occasions St. Paul is described freeing prisoners from the secular authorities. The first involved soldiers who had been trying to avoid service in the theme army;[234] the second was a posthumous miracle in favour of some troublesome villagers who had fallen foul of the theme judge.[235]

The latter episode is particularly revealing because St. Paul's intervention is on behalf of the law-breaking villagers and against established authority. The Saint who had been a patron to the local communities during his lifetime was still imagined as fulfilling the role after his death.

In 5th and 6th century Syria P. Brown's work pointed to the way the holyman's role as a local patron answered a demand which the more conventional lay patrons could not meet.[236] St. Paul's role in local society and the absence of landed magnates in the social world described in the Life may suggest a similar problem and answer in the 10th century Maeander.

A very similar picture of local society comes from the third of the lower Maeander saints' Lives, that of St. Lazaros of mount Galesion. The Life was written shortly after 1057: St.

237. LAZAROS 588.

238. ibid. 539.

240. ibid. 504.

241. ibid. 508-19.

242. ibid. 522, 528-9.

244. ibid. 584.

245. ibid. 584; see E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse'
246-51.

Lazaros died on 7th November 1053[237] and the author describes the coup which brought Isaac I Comnenos to power in the summer of 1057 in terms of a recent event.[238] The author was Gregory, the kellarites of the monastery, who had known Lazaros well and could also draw on the reminiscences of several other monks.[240]

For Lazaros' early life and career during the late 10th and early 11th century Gregory had to rely on the account given by the saint himself. This covers his education, his journey to Attaleia, where he spent some time in the nearby mountains, and the years he stayed in Palestine.[241] The account is certainly not wholly fictitious, but neither the details nor the chronology can be relied upon in the same way as in the later sections where Gregory not only had personal experience but a number of other witnesses. From at least 1024,[242] by which date Lazaros had moved on to his second colony and a well known community was in existence on Galesion, the Life is detailed and in so far as it presents the outlook of the monks, quite reliable.

Unlike the holy mountain of Latros organized monasticism was new in the 11th century to mount Galesion.[243] Most of the monks seemed to have assumed that the communal life on the mountain would not survive St. Lazaros' death.[244] Through the patronage of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomarchos and Maria Skleraina another monastery had been founded nearby at Bessai.[245] The monastery of the Theotokos at Bessai never won St. Lazaros' approval. It was too big - 300 monks, as opposed to

246. LAZAROS 533, 585.

247. ibid. 570, 574.

248. ibid. 582, 585-6.

249. ibid. 581-2.

250. ibid. 582.

the total of 64 on Galesion[246] - too worldly, and lacked ascetic discipline.[247] Lazaros made plain his opinion that salvation was only to be found in the harsh wilderness of mount Galesion. Indeed this was something of a self fulfilling prophesy since the monks on Galesion itself were kept up to the mark by the presence of the saint on a column in their midst. His refusal to go to Bessai and his evident lack of enthusiasm for the new monastery was found to undermine its ascetic reputation.

However, as an Imperial foundation, Bessai was independent of the metropolitan of Ephesos, and many of the Galesiote monks thought it inevitable that after Lazaros' death the metropolitan would take over the monastery on the mountain.[248] In the months before December 1053 the metropolitan had sent various agents to look over the monastery and relations were evidently strained.[249] The monks had finally forced the Saint to write to the Emperor asking for the monastery to be made an independent Imperial foundation, but one of their number betrayed the 'messengers' to the metropolitan. The letter was destroyed and the bearers turned back.[250] The account given by Gregory the kellarites is not disinterested, but it does reveal the atmosphere of doubt and bitter dissension that filled Galesion in the period before the aged saint's death.

If the community were to survive on Galesion those who wanted to stay had first to establish and maintain St. Lazaros'

251. ibid. 586.

252. See ibid. 535-6.

reputation for great holiness and spiritual power, together with his absolute conviction that salvation was only to be found on the mountain; second, they had to sustain the high standards of ascetic life on the mountain; third, they needed to reinforce Galesion's close links with both the local laity and with powerful patrons in Constantinople. As Lazaros himself seems to have been aware,[251] by doing these things the monastery could achieve a moral and political strength which would enable it to survive, even in face of the metropolitan's hostility.

Gregory's Life of St. Lazaros was above all a piece of prop ganda written to answer these demands. St. Lazaros is portrayed as a great wonder-working saint who on many occasions had prophesied that the monastery would survive, and who had also opposed the pretensions of Bessai. Abandonment of the rigours of Galesion would involve the loss of the ascetic ideals and spiritual power which went with them. By example future monks and abbots were taught of the hard path of spiritual athlesis they should be following and warned of the pitfalls open to those who strayed. Straying specifically included the desire to move to another monastery site. Through numerous stories that were no doubt told to visitors the Life advertised St. Lazaros' role in local society and his high ranking patrons at the Imperial court. By plain implication if the monastery were left on Galesion it would continue to act as a corporate patron to the local population in Constantinople and in heaven.[252] The perspective of the Life is far from being unbiased, but Gregory had no obvious interest in surpressing the

253. See supra

254. See supra

255. LAZAROS 540-41.

role of well connected sections of local society; the Life would seem to be a very important and quite reliable survey of society in the lower Maeander region.

Several of the most important laymen to appear in the Life have already been mentioned: the strategos Romanos Skleros, his sister Maria Skleraina and her lover Constantine Monomarchos,[253] the theme judges, Nikephoros Kampanares, Nikephoros the son of Euthymios and Nikephoros Proteuon,[254] have all been identified as outsiders to the Maeander region. They are mentioned in the Life as well known figures from the world of the Imperial court at Constantinople, whose association with St. Lazaros would enhance the reputation of both the saint and the monastery.

A few others can be added to this group. At about the same time as Nikephoros the son of Euthymios was sent into exile on suspicion of plotting a coup, Constantine Barys was also sent into exile on the same grounds. In this case the Emperor's suspicions were correct. The Life describes how Barys sent a message and a substantial sum of money to St. Lazaros, asking for his help to overthrow the Emperor. The Saint refused to have anything to do with it and warned Barys that his plot would end in disaster. Events turned out as St. Lazaros had predicted and Constantine Barys lost his life.[255]

The plot is not directly mentioned by either Skylitzes or

256. SKYLITZES 471.
257. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 395-7.
258. G. W. H. LAMPE, GPL 289; e.g. PAUL OF LATROS 133; SKYLITZES 427; EP II, nr. 50, 9ff.; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 56.
259. DO 58.106.1693; F 568; DO 58.106.3373; V. LAURENT, 'Les bulles métriques' Hellenika IV (1931) nr. 156, 336.
260. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 574, 286.
261. ibid. V/1, nr. 692, 523-4.
262. ibid. II, nr. 1113, 617.
263. K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Byzantiaka molybdoboulla tou en Athenais Ethnikou Nomismatikou Mouseiou Athens (1917) nr. 384, ; N.P.LICHÁČEV, Istoričeskoe značenie Appendix, nr. 8, 33.
264. P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode de Blachernes' 217, 247.
265. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 245.
266. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1085, 597-8.

Psellos, although the former does refer to the exile of Nikephoros the son of Euthymios.[256] However, since neither are very detailed accounts nor wholly reliable there is no need to question whether the incident took place.

In the early 10th century Michael, father of Constantine Barys commanded the tagma of the Hikanatoi.[257] Barus or baris, meaning a large house or tower, is quite a common Byzantine placename,[258] and there is no certainty that all those with the surname are of the same family; however several of the 11th century Barys held similar posts at about the same time and are likely to be closely related. John Barys rose from hostianos, via protonotarios to protoproedros, teichiotes and symponos.[259] Another seal, lacking the first name, and, to judge by the layout, not the same man, describes a Barys as Imperial spatharios, kandidatos, asekretis and chartoularios of the stratiotikon logothesion.[260] One Michael Barys was metropolitan of Traïanoupolis, a see in southern Thrace;[261] another Michael Barys followed a highly successful civil career: he appears first as proedros, judge of the velum and kuaistor,[262] then successively as curopalate[263] and protocuropalate.[264] He was also a prominent supporter of Nikephoros Botaneiates in 1078 and was sent to win the Caesar John Doukas over to the rebel cause.[265] A Constantine Barys is recorded as symponos, second-in-command to the eparch of Constantinople in the second half of the 11th century;[266] another of the same name was one of the sekreton of the sakellion

267. EP I, nr. 49, 345.

268. SKYLITZES 471; see supra

269. LAZAROS 539.

who signed the pittakion of Anna Dalassena issued in May 1088 for Christodoulos as protovestes, protonotarios and ekprosopou tou sekreton tes basilikes sakelles. [267]

The list of high civil appointments held by the Barys family in the 11th century, and the association with the exile of Nikephoros the son of Euthymios indicates that the Constantine in the Life of St. Lazaros was one of the archontes politai whom Skylitzes mentions in reference to these exiles. [268] His role in the Life is one of an exotic outsider.

Another family of similar background to that of Barys were the Makremboliteis, one of whose number came to ask St. Lazaros' blessing before going on a journey to Constantinople. Gregory, the author of the Life, heard the story from a rather less illustrious visitor who happened to be there at the time. Makrembolites was apparently unwell, and although the story is not clear, he seems to have been going home. St. Lazaros tells him that he will find health in the heavenly city, and he dies even before he has left the Thrakesion. [269]

Gregory does not indicate what had brought Makrembolites to the Thrakesion. He may have been there on official business or he might have owned estates in the theme. However, as in the case of Nikephoros Ouranos, against any suggestion that Makrembolites played an important political role by virtue of the lands he held in the Thrakesion, is the good evidence showing

270. See N. OIKONOMIDES, 'Le serment de l'impératrice Eudocie (1067)', REB XXI (1963) 79, 118-20; SATHAS, MB IV, 305-10, 313-14; SKYLITZES 412.
271. PSELLOS II, 154; SATHAS, MB V, 347; PSELLOS, SM II, 46, 48, 254.
272. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, 80-81, 527.

the interests and influence of the Makrembolites family focused closely on Constantinople.

The genealogy of the Makrembolites in the 11th century is obscure, but even so they were clearly a Constantinopolitan family, educated and resident in the city, and ranking high amongst its civilian elite. The family was related to the future Patriarch, Michael Keroularios, whose Constantinopolitan background and culture was lauded by Michael Psellos. In 1040 John Makrenbolites had joined with Michael Keroularios and "allous ouk oligous Ton politon" in a plot to overthrow Michael IV; Eudokia Makrembolitissa, whose first marriage, in about 1050, was to the future Emperor, Constantine X Doukas, was Keroularios' niece. Her cousins, Constantine and Nikephoros, are also described as the Patriarch's nephews. These two were Michael Psellos' pupils, and Constantine at least rose high in the Imperial service.[270] Relations with Psellos included ties of spiritual kinship: Eudokia's father was Psellos' spiritual brother, and in his writings Psellos on occasion refers to Eudokia and Constantine as respectively his neice and nephew.[271] In addition to the Life of St. Lazaros, another Makrembolites is mentioned serving in the Balkans as strategos at Prespa,[272] but otherwise all the family at this period are found in Constantinople.

The other undoubtedly famous name in the Life turned out to be an imposter, but the episode still sheds light on magnate

273. LAZAROS 577, c. 227 n. 1.

274. J.-C. CHEYNET, J.-F. VANNIER, Etudes prosopographiques
Byzantina Sorbonensia V, Paris (1986) ; SKYLITZES
373, 393-4.

275. LAZAROS 557.

families in the Maeander region. The imposter, who wished to become a monk on Galesion, claimed to be Damianos Dalassenos and to own estates in the Anatolikon beyond Amorion.[273]

The Dalassenos family can with confidence be labelled as landowning magnates. Successive generations in the late 10th and 11th centuries were major political figures at court and in the eastern armies. In the 11th century they owned important estates in eastern Anatolia and a major oikos in Constantinople. However they were clearly strangers to the Maeander region. Had it been otherwise the deception could hardly have been passed off.[274]

The episode is complicated by the fact that although high ranking laymen might visit the saint to ask for advice and a blessing - the monks were familiar with this relationship and St. Lazaros was skilled at encouraging it, going so far as to build an archontarion to accommodate distinguished visitors[275] - even so, the community had not yet had the experience of such men actually becoming monks on Galesion. The prospect of the wealth and status that a Dalassenos in the monastery would bring seems to have misled all concerned. In spite of this, however, it still follows that had either the Dalassenoi been resident in the Thrakesion, or indeed had others in the region known the Dalassenoi, such a deception could hardly have been carried out with success.

Apart from this list of nine names - Romanos Skleros, Maria Skleraina, Constantine Monomarchos, Constantine Barys, Nikephoros the son of Euthymios, Nikephoros Proteuon, Nikephoros Kamapanares, Makrembolites and the pseudo - Dalassenos - none of the other substantial laymen mentioned in the Life show any signs of being figures of importance outside the Maeander region. All, bar one exceptional case, were resident in the region, several coming from Ephesos itself. Where specified they were lesser officials, small to medium land-owners or ship-owners. There is no trace in the Life of anyone who would fit the description of a landed magnate.

1. See Chapter Five above.
2. See supra. 6-10.

CHAPTER TEN Magnates in the Upper Maeander Region.

The historical geography of the upper Maeander region was discussed above in part one,[1] but otherwise the region has been left to one side and study of the official and unofficial rulers of the Maeander has concentrated on the lower Maeander region.

The upper Maeander lies in a transitional zone between the western coastlands and the central plateau, and occupied an important strategic position in Byzantine warfare against the Arabs. It was protected to the east by the belt of mountains which formed the western edge of the central plateau, and from the 7th century onwards these natural defences had been reinforced by numerous fortifications which included several of the more important fortresses of Asia Minor. The region also lay close to the major routes from Constantinople to the eastern frontier, as well as to those linking the central plateau to the Aegean.[2] In theory one would imagine the region to have been a natural focus for the landed interests of the great Byzantine military families.

However, due to the shortage of detailed sources, the social structure of the upper Maeander before the Turkish invasions is extremely obscure. Of those west coast monasteries whose archives have been even partially preserved, only St.

3. See supra 371-3.
4. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 189-287.
5. ibid. 200.
6. See infra 481 f.
7. 'Vie de S. Luc' 155-6, 170, 171-4.

Paul's on Latros, the Xerochoraphion, and the Nea Moni on Chios were founded while the upper Maeander was still in Byzantine hands, and none owned land so far east.[3] No documents have survived from the local religious houses. The only Saint's Life even partially set in the region is that of St. Luke the Stylite.[4] St. Luke and his parents were a prosperous military family, listed on the rolls of the theme army.[5] Although they ranked high in local society, they would have counted for little in the Empire as a whole.[6] The account, given in the Life, of St. Luke's early years is an invaluable insight into one sector of society, but since he actually spent most of his ascetic career in Constantinople, and that was also the home of his hagiographer,[7] the Life of St. Luke does not have the same importance as a source for local society as any of the west coast monastic lives.

For the lower Maeander, which is in any case better documented, gaps in the direct evidence can be partially filled by assuming that material which relates to the Thrakesion as a whole can be applied to this particular regional sub-section; for the upper Maeander such an assumption cannot be made. Whereas the lower Maeander forms over two thirds of the territory of the Thrakesioi, the upper Maeander not only forms less than a sixth of the Anatolikon, but it is also geographically distinct from the rest of the theme. Those features of the area which make it part of the Maeander region rather than of Anatolia, might equally suggest a separate social history from the theme of

8. Cf. S. VRYONIS, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century London (1971) 25 n. 32; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantium Monetary Economy 102-3. Vryonis' list, repeated by Hendy, includes in addition to the above the families of Argyros, Doukas, Leichoudes, Maniakes, Melissenos and Mosele. The Arguroi are only linked to the Anatolikon by a general reference in Skylitzes; much better evidence links the family to the Charsianon and southern Italy, SKYLITZES 488; J.-F. VANNIER, Familles Byzantines: Les Argyroi (IXe-XIIe siècles) Paris (1975) 15-17 et passim. The Doukai seem to be associated with the Anatolikon on the grounds that Andronikos Doukas took refuge at Kabala in 906. The latter, however, was an important Imperial fortress, not a private possession of the Doukas family and the presence of the fleeing domestic reveals nothing of his territorial interests, D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 1-6, 16-21; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 182-3. The Leichoudes family was one of Constantinopolitan bureaucrats and ecclesiastics; it is unclear why Vryonis included them, see SATHAS, MB IV, 395-6; G. WEISS, Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos Munich (1973) 80. George Maniakes did own estates in the Anatolikon, but his origins lay further east in the country of the Arab marches, SKYLITZES 381, 387, 397, 427, 492; the name appears to be Turkish, G. MORAVCSIK, Byzantinoturcica II Berlin (1958) 181. The Melissenoi may have derived their name from the toponym Melissa; of the three known sites with that name, one is in the Anatolikon between Synada and Metropolis, W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 36, 170; IDEM, Cities and Bishoprics II, 753; contemporaries, however, associated the family with Lydia or the Opsikion, 'Vita S. Nicholai Studitae' PG CV, 863-6; KINNAMOS 294. The Mosele family were of Armenian origin and the mid-10th century had a house in Constantinople, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 107-9; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 794; H. DELEHAYE, 'Vita S. Nicephori Episcopii Milesii' AB XIV (1895) 161-5: the latter should be read in the light of P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 283 n. 6. In the late 10th century they were important landowners, but there is no indication as to where, JGR 266-7 n. 48; SKYLITZES 251. For the skleroi see supra 327f.; Rhadenos: GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 880-1, 897.
9. ATTALEIATES 242, 253; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172; see also G. BUCKLER, 'A Sixth century Botaniates' B VI (1931) 405-6 and pl. XVII; MAMA IV, 31-2: the funerary inscription, dated January 571, was found at Synada and records a place name Botánia.
10. YAHYA 373; V. LAURENT, 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche' 229-31, 233-4; SKYLITZES 488; ANNA COMNENA III, 199-200; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 233-4; see also MAMA VII, 75 nr. 310; G. BUCKLER, 'Two Gateway Inscriptions' BZ XXX (1929-30) 647, pl. XVI.

11. ANNA COMNENA I, 66; P.-W. IVA, 1410-12; W.,M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 40, 139.
12. LEO DIACONUS 135; ANNA COMNENA III, 203; Mesanakta was an Imperial estate, and although not on the list of aplekta preserved in the De Ceremoniis fulfilled a similar function in military operations, SKYLITZES 320, 385, 412: on the last occasion in 1040 Theodosios Masanyktes was one of the archontes of the tagmata blinded for their part in an abortive plot.
13. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 261; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics II, 677-97.
14. ATTALEIATES 230; SKYLITZES 350. Skylitzes calls him Theophylact, but since Attaleiates wrote a decade earlier and actually dedicated his work to the Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates his testimony is to be preserved. This is a further example of Skylitzes' unreliability, see supra
15. ATTALEIATES 230-36; SKYLITZES 350.

which it was officially a part.

A number of major Byzantine families appear to have been prominent in the theme of the Anatolikoi during the 10th and 11th centuries. They include those of Botaneiates, Rhadenos, Bourtzes, Synadenos, Straboromanos, Skleros and Mesanyktes.[8] Of these only the family of Botaneiates can be connected with the upper Maeander region.[9] The interests of the other families seem to have lain further to the east. In particular the Bourtzes family were associated with the area around Polybotos east of Akroinos;[10] the name Synadenos was presumably derived from Synada,[11] as was that of Mesanyktes from the Imperial estate of Mesanakta near the Ak Şehir Gölü.[12] Romanos Straboromanos is recorded to have come from the Phrygian Pentapolis, beyond the mountains to the east of the Banaz ovası.[13]

The most famous of the Botaneiates family was Nikephoros Botaneiates who reigned as Emperor from 1078 to 1081, but before this the family had had a distinguished military record which can be traced back to the turn of the 10th century. Both Nikephoros' father and grandfather served in Basil II's Bulgar wars. His grandfather, also called Nikephoros, was doux of Thessalonika until he fell in a Bulgar ambush in 1014;[14] his father, Michael Botaneiates, another of Basil II's generals, is credited with heroic deeds of valour against the Bulgars by Michael Attaleiates, and he later served the same Emperor in Armenia.[15]

16. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 626 nr. 3.
17. ibid. 625 nr. 2; c.f. ibid. 318; YAHYA 369.
18. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 55, 252; GEORGIUS HARMATOLUS 1249, 1252; ANNA COMNENA I, 98; the records of A. KAZHDAN, G. CONSTABLE, People and Power in Byzantium Washington (1982) 52-3 on life expectancy are misleading; see E. PATLAGEAN, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance Paris (1977) 95-101; and also for comparison, J. McMANNERS, Death and the Enlightenment Oxford (1981) 5-23, 59-88, 89-94.
19. ATTALAIATES 97-8.
20. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/3, 1462-3 nr. 2686.
21. SKYLITZES 488; ATTALEIATES 56.

Two slightly earlier Botaneiates bore the titles of Imperial spatharios and anthypatos, which suggests a date in the 9th century;[16] Eustratios Botaneiates is known from a seal which may be late 10th century as patrikios, anthypatos and strategos of Zebel. The latter is probably the Syrian town of Gabala captured by John Tzimiskes in 975.[17]

Nikephoros Botaneiates, the future Emperor, is first attested in 1053, although this was evidently not his first command. By the time he came to be Emperor in 1078 he struck contemporaries as an old man, and even in the light of the short life expectancy in medieval Byzantium, that implies a man no younger than his sixties.[18] Nikephoros was therefore at least in his thirties in 1053 when he is reported fighting in the Patzinaks near the Danube.[19] The seal of a Nikephoros Botaneiates, magistros, vestes, vestarch and doux of Macedonian Edessos is almost certainly his and would fit the circumstances well.[20] The seal would also indicate that this was not Nikephoros' first command. The high ranking titles are those of an experienced general and Imperial servant.

In the years following the Patzinak war Nikephoros appears to have been transferred to a command in the east. He was there in 1057 when he was a principal supporter of Isaac Comnenos, and he is described by Skylitzes as one of "Those archontes who have their dwelling in the theme of the Anatolikoi".[21]

22. P. LEMERLE, Philippe et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine Paris (1945) 158 n. 1; F. DÖLGER, Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges Munich (1948) 156 nr. 57, 329-30 nrs. 5, 6, pl. 120/5, 6.
23. ATTALEIATES 83; SYLITZES CONTINUATUS 114. Attaleiates calls Nikephoros 'magistros', but this is contradicted by the documents from the Iberon monastery cited supra n. 22.
24. ATTALEIATES 95-6; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 120-1; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/3, 1466 nr. 2688; V. LAURENT 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche' 246. It may have been during this short period that he was raised to the rank of protoproedros, see G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. 1466, nr. 2689. For the difficulties facing a doux of Antioch, see W. FELIX, Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert
25. ATTALEIATES 97-8.

By 1061 he was back in the west, promoted to the rank of proedros and with command of Thessalonika.[22] It is likely that it was still in this capacity that he and Basil Apokapes were defeated by the Oğuz Turks in the autumn of 1064. Both generals were captured in the disaster, although it seems they were released shortly afterwards.[23]

In 1067, during the regency of Eudokia, Nikephoros, with the same rank of proedros, was sent to the east to take up the important post of doux of Antioch. Antioch was always a testing command for a Byzantine general; the internal politics were complicated and unstable, and there was an external threat from the Arabs of Aleppo, exacerbated in the late 1060s by the Turks, against whom the new doux fought with a certain limited success. The other feature of the Antioch command was the distance from Constantinople, which had the effect - possibly deliberate - of neutralizing Nikephoros' influence at court. According to Attaleiates, whose Historia is to a great extent an encomium of Botaneiates, it was only Nikephoros' absence in Antioch that prevented his being a strong candidate for the widowed Eudokia's hand.[24] Instead in December 1067 Romanos Diogenes became Eudokia's second husband and Emperor.

Nikephoros Botaneiates had reason to resent the younger man's rise to power. In 1053 Romanos had been his junior co-commander on the Danube, and Nikephoros was credited with saving his life.[25] For the time being, however, there was no overt

26. V. LAURENT, 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche' 246-7.
27. IDEM, Orghidan nr. 235; G. VEGLERIS, Nikephoros Botaneiates Athens (1916) in V. LAURENT, 'Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine' B V (1929-30) 610; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. 1466, nr. 2689 may also belong to this period, c.f. supra n. 24.
28. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 143; c.f. ATTALEIATES 145.
29. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. 1467-8, nrs. 2690, 2690 bis.
30. ATTALEIATES 185.

hostility. Nikephoros was recalled from Antioch early in 1068,[26] but he was promoted to the rank of protoproedros and sent first to be doux of Strymon and Boleros, and then later to be doux of the Peloponnese and Hellas.[27] By 1071 relations had cooled. Very early on the Manzikert campaign Nikephoros was accused of being involved in a plot against the Emperor.[28]

Whatever his exact role in events, Nikephoros was evidently in favour with the new regime under Michael VII. By 1073 or 4 he had been raised to the high rank of curopalate and appointed to the important military command of doux of the Anatolikoi. As such he was one of those principally responsible for the defence of Asia Minor against the Turks.[29]

The immediate enemy, however, was not the Turks, but the rebel westerner, Roussel de Bailleul. Nikephoros was second-in-command to the Caesar John Doukas on the expedition sent to restore Imperial control in Asia Minor.[30] The Imperial forces brought Roussel to battle at the Zompos bridge over the Sangarios, but the result was a disaster. The Caesar was captured and his eldest son, Andronikos Doukas, whose estates near Miletos have already been discussed, was so severely wounded that he was an invalid for the short remaining portion of his life. Nikephoros was one of the few Byzantine commanders to escape death or capture. The account varies depending on the bias of the author, but amongst the Doukai and their supporters, Nikephoros Botaneiates was held responsible for the defeat.

31. ATTALEIATES 185-6; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 169-71;
SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 158: Nikephoros Bryennios gives
the hostile pro-Doukai account; D. POLEMIS, The Doukai
55-9.
32. ATTALEIATES 186.

According to this version, Nikephoros, who had been in command of the rear division, had seen the western mercenaries in the Imperial army deserting to Roussel. Instead of coming to the rescue, Nikephoros had withdrawn his troops and left the Caesar and his son to their fate.[31]

In the wake of this disaster Nikephoros retired with the troops of the Anatolikoi to their theme. Attaleiates describes this as a return to his "home and abode", [32] but under the circumstances he can have had little other option. He could hardly have gone to Constantinople without disgrace since it was his duty to be in the theme organizing its defence against both Roussel and the Turks. A return to Constantinople would also have courted arrest for his presumed treachery at the battle of Zompos. The contrary view, put about by his supporters, that Nikephoros had been the hero of the fight, whose advice had been ignored with fatal consequences, could hardly be expected to be tolerated by a frightened regime looking for a scape-goat.

If he stayed put in the Anatolikon, however, he was relatively safe. Michael VII could not easily remove or replace him since under the disordered circumstances of Asia Minor in the mid-1070s the Emperor had few means of enforcing his will on a distant general. Any attempts to do so would simply have had the effect of forcing the commander of a powerful body of troops into open rebellion. The revolt of Nikephoros Bryennios in the Balkans appears to have been the consequence of an attempt to do

33. NIKEPHORS BRYENNIOS 213-19.
34. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172; for Lampē see supra
35. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 237-53; ATTALEIATES 240-43, 256-7, 263-72; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 171-2, 176-9, 181-2; for the chronology see D. POLEMIS, 'Notes on Eleventh-Century Chronology (1059-1081)' BZ LVIII (1965) 69-71; P. GAUTIER in NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 246 n. 1, 248 n. 2, 252 n. 5.
36. H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historiques' 84-6;
G. OSTROGORSKY, History of the Byzantine Empire State 348;
M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 96.

just that.[33] In the case of Nikephoros Botaneiates there was the additional fear, given apparent grounds by his conduct at the battle of Zompos, that he would ally himself with Roussel. Such a state of affairs produced a fatal split between the Imperial government and the commander of one of the chief remaining bodies of Byzantine troops in Asia Minor. This split effectively neutralized the Anatolikai and prevented for several years any concerted action being taken against the Turks.

This stalemate lasted until October 1077 when "the Chief men of the east", whom Sklitzes names as Alexander Kabasilas, Romanos Straboromanos, Synadenos and Goudeles, proclaimed Nikephoros Botaneiates Emperor at Lampē in the Baklan ovası.[34] In January 1078 Nikephoros left the upper Maeander and marched on Constantinople, going by way of Nicaea where he gained the alliance of the Turkomans under the sons of Kutlumuş. By the beginning of April Michael VII had abdicated and Nikephoros had been accepted as Emperor in the Imperial city.[35]

On the face of it, the obvious interpretation of Nikephoros Botaneiates' coup is that he was a great landed magnate who used his power in the Anatolikon to overthrow Michael VII's government. In this he had the backing of those whom Gregoire calls "les grands féodaux", and the episode reveals the dangers posed to the Byzantine state by the overmighty magnates, whose irresponsibility led to the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks.[36]

- 37. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172.
- 38. SKYLITZES 368.
- 39. ibid. 418; PSELLOS I, 108, 118.
- 40. S. P. LAMPOS, 'Alexander Kabasilas' BZ XII (1903) 40-41; N. BANESCU, 'Changements politiques dans le Balkans apres la conquête de l'empire bulgare de Samuel (1018). Nouveaux duchés byzantins: Bulgarie et Paristrion' Bulletin de la section historique, Academie Romaine X (1923); G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 627 nr. 1; ANNA COMNENA I, 151; II, 114; III, 104, 111.

There are several flaws in this approach. In the first place it is not clear that Skylitzes' description of those who proclaimed Nikephoros Emperor at Lampē in 1077 as "the chief men of the east"[37] refers to anything other than the commands they happened to hold at the time. What the group seems to have in common is not that they were great Anatolian landowners, but a family tradition of high ranking Imperial service.

Alexander Kabasilas certainly did not come from the Anatolion. He was a distinguished soldier, whose family, possibly of Bulgar origin, had been prominent at court since the early 11th century. Nikephoros Kabasilas was doux of Thessalonika in 1025;[38] the patrikios Constantine Kabasilas had been a servant of Constantine VIII and was one of his daughter Theodora's principal supporters in 1042. He was later appointed doux of the west.[39] Alexander Kabasilas himself is not referred to before his appearance at Lampē in October 1077. Shortly after Nikephoros Botaneiates had been established on the Imperial throne, Alexander was made katepan of Bulgaria, and his successful military career continued under Alexios I.[40] Since no source suggests that the family came from Asia Minor, one may presume that Skylitzes' remark refers to a command in that area held by Alexander during the 1070s.

The Goudelioi, one of whose number was present at Lampē in October 1077, do seem to have been a prominent eastern family. Twice in the 11th century before 1077 they were accused of

41. SKYLITZES 372, 396; S. P. LAMPOS, 'Ho byzantinakos oikos Gudele' NE XIII (1916) 211-21; V. LAURENT, Orghidan nr. 336; F 2704; G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 667 nr. 1.
42. V. LAURENT II, 168-9, nr. 349.
43. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 667 nr. 2.
44. See supra 428.
45. ATTALEIATES 286; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 179, 186; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 259-61; ANNA COMNENA I, 77-8; for the Grand Hetaireiarch, see J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century 106-8; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L' evolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au IXe siècle (1025-1118)' TM VI (1976) 130.

plotting against the reigning Emperor in concert with such well known military families as Kourkuas, Dalassenos and Gabras. The first instance in 1026 led to a Goudelios being blinded, the second in 1034 sent another into exile. The Goudelios involved in the latter was described by Skylitzes as "one of the wealthy and well-born of Asia Minor".[41]

However they were not simply a family of provincial soldiers. Skylitzes' mention of their plotting suggests they were close to events at court, and at least one member of the family is known to have followed a civilian career in Constantinople. John Goudelios with the rank of protospatharios was Great Chartoularios of the Genikon;[42] he may also be the same John Goudelios who is attested with the rank of nobelissimos toward the end of the century.[43]

Both the Straboromanoi and the Synadenoi had, as has been already noted, their origins in the Anatolikon to the east of the upper Maeander, but like the Kabasilas and Goudelios families, they were already established figures in the Imperial hierarchy before 1077.[44]

As Grand Hetaireiarch, a post which gave him responsibility for internal security, Romanos Straboromanos was to be one of the key figures of Nikephoros III's regime.[45] However he had already had experience of high office under Michael VII. In 1074 he had been sent to southern Italy as head of the important

46. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 167; H. BIBICCU 'Une page d'histoire diplomatique de byzance au XIe siècle: Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires' B XXIX-XXX (1959-60) 43-75.
47. P. GAUTIER 'Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexis Comnène: Manuel Straboromanos' REB XXIII (1965) 168-204.
48. SKYLITZES 410.
49. ANNA COMNENA I, 46.
50. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 185.
51. ANNA COMNENA I, 161; D. POLEMIS, The Doukai 54-5.

embassy which negotiated a marriage alliance between Robert Guiscard and the Byzantine Emperor.[46] His personal association with Nikephoros Botaneiates and the hostility of Anna Dalassena meant that his political career did not survive Nikephoros' fall in April 1081, but other members of the family did prosper under the Comneni. Manuel Straboromanos, who may well have been his son, was protonobelissimos and Grand Hetaireiarch for Alexios I between 1108 and 1118; another Romanos Straboromanos, probably his grandson, held a military command in the Balkans in 1092. Their success points to a family well established at court and with a tradition of Imperial service.[47]

Such a tradition is even more evident for the Synadenoi who were a major political family from at least the first half of the 11th century. Already in 1040 one of the family, Basil Synadenos, strategos of Dyrrachium, was accused of plotting to seize the throne;[48] and Nikephoros Botaneiates intended that a Synadenos should follow him as Emperor.[49] Nikephoros appears to have been deliberately building up the Synadenoi as an Imperial family. His niece Synadena, the daughter of Theodoulos Synadenos, was sent to be wife to the Kral of Hungary;[50] Zoe Doukaina, daughter of the late Emperor Constantine X Doukas, was betrothed to Nikephoros Synadenos, who may have been the member of the family the Emperor intended to succeed him.[51]

Since several of the Synadenoi were clearly soldiers - apart from those already mentioned, a Nikephoros Synadenos was

52. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 705 nr. 5; D.O. 58, 106. 1488.
53. ANNA COMNENA I, 161; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172.
54. P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' REB XXXII (1974) 117, 121.
55. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 48-9, 253-4, 257.
56. ANNA COMNENA I, 155, 161; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Etude prosopographique' REB XXIX (1971) 217, 250; V. LAURENT 'Les bulles metriques' 61 nr. 729; IDEM 'Andronikos Synadenos' REB XX (1962) 210-14; D.O. 55. 1. 3341; an Eirene Synadena married the Sebastos Manuel Botaneiates; they were childless and left at least some of their property to the Emperor John II Comnenos, P. GAUTIER 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 119, 123; S. P. LAMPROS 'Ho Markianos Kōdix 524' NE VIII (1911) 40-41.

strategos of Capadocia and a Leo Synadenos is attested as magistros and katepan[52] - and since the family is several times described as from the east,[53] they probably originated among the military of Asia Minor. However by the later 11th century they were well established in Constantinople and they owned estates in nearby Thrace.[54] Indeed this was not a recent development: some of the letters of Philetos Synadenos written in the first six years of the 11th century have survived, revealing a man of Constantinopolitan culture, bitterly complaining at being sent away from the Imperial city to be judge of Tarsos.[55]

The loss of the Anatolikon to the Turks had no discernable effect upon their fortunes. Despite their close association with Nikephoros Botaneiates the Synadenoi seem to have been too important for the Comneni to ignore. Nikephoros Synadenos, Botaneiates' prospective heir, was a senior general on Alexios' first campaign against the Normans, when he was killed in October 1081;[56] and several other Synadenoi are attested holding high rank and office throughout the 12th century.

The same point can be made for Nikephoros Botaneiates himself. His long and successful career was not spent in the Anatolikon, but rather holding high office elsewhere in the Empire. In fact most of the recorded events of his career took place in the west. At least four of his commands were held in Europe as compared with only two or three in Asia - a figure

57. Nikephoros' kinsman, Manuel Botaneiates, owned an estate at Verroia, in Macedonia, 70 kilometres west of Thessalonika. The identification with Macedonian Verroia is reinforced by the document's reference to planena, Macedonian mountain pastures, P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 123; for planēna see Actes de Lavra I, nr. 66, 343-5: the monastery was in dispute with a body of Cumans who had usurped its grazing rights on the mountain pastures.
58. ATTALEIATES 236.
59. M. ANGOLD, 'Inventory of the so-called palace of Botaneiates' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 254-66; MM III, X-XV, 55-7; see also R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 2nd Edn. Paris (1964) 251, 326, map I, G6.
60. ATTALEIATES 255, 276, 278-9, 281, 283; for the social background to these events, see P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 272-93.

which includes a period of less than a year as doux of Antioch. In total he must have spent at least fourteen years out of twenty-five in a command far away from the Anatolikai. The proportion is probably larger.[57]

Much of what time remained to him was spent in Constantinople. This could be inferred from his prominent political career. A man honoured with such high ranking titles and posts, who was even considered as a possible candidate for the hand of the Empress Eudokia in 1067, and whose ambitions roused Imperial suspicion, must have been a familiar figure at court; but this can in fact be confirmed by other evidence. Michael Attaleiates noted that the Emperor's father, Michael Botaneiates, enjoyed particularly good relations with the citizens of Constantinople, which suggests someone frequently resident in the city.[58] Two later inventories, one of 1192, the other of 1202, describe a place called that of Botaneiates, which lay in the heart of Constantinople halfway up the slope leading from the Golden Horn to the Forum of Constantine. In the second half of the 12th century it had been occupied by the Kalamanos family, until it was handed over to the Genoese in 1192. Earlier it could well have been the residence of the Botaneiates family in the 11th century.[59] Various policies of Nikephoros' short reign, such as the restoration of the skalai to their private owners, suggest a sympathetic attitude toward the city and its new senatorial and commercial class.[60] The fact that one of their number, Michael Attaleiates, chose to write an encomiastic history of Botaneiates

61. Michael Attaleiates was very much a Constantinopolitan by adoption if not by birth: A. KAZHDAN, Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries Cambridge (1984) 58; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 76 n. 8; P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliate' REB XXXIX (1981) 12; c.f. E. T. TSOLAKES, 'Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates' BZ LVIII (1965) 5-7.
62. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 179-81, 187-91, 199-201; ATTALEIATES 211-14, 238-40; ANNA COMNENA I, 10-11; C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 72-5.
63. Obvious examples are the development of principalities in 10th century France, for which see the introductory remarks of J. DUNBABIN, France in the Making 843-1180 Oxford (1985). 63-4, 66, 69-70, 75, 82-3, 90; the needs of local defence provided a similar impetus to political organization in Britain, Germany, Italy and Spain.
64. M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 275-8; A. A. M. BRYER, 'Greeks and Türkmens: the Pontic exception' DOP XXIX (1975) 115-43.

also serves to underline the significance of his ties to Constantinople.[61]

The second flaw in the argument which sees Nikephoros as a great landed magnate using provincial power against the government in Constantinople is that although he clearly owned property at Lampē, provincial support does not appear to have played a very significant role in the coup of 1077 - 8.

Local ties may have been responsible for his presence in that specific area of the upper Maeander, but Nikephoros retreated to the Anatolikon after the battle of Zompos because he was the *doux*, because his soldiers came from there, and because his role in the defeat meant that he had for the moment no where else to go.

For the next three years, from 1074 to 1077, Nikephoros Botaneiates stayed in the Anatolikon. While Michael VII's government faced more immediate crises, these years saw increasing Turkish pressure on the Byzantine population of Asia Minor.[62] Were Nikephoros to have been a landed magnate able to draw on local support and the alliance of other powerful neighbours, one would expect to find him leading the local response to the Turkish threat and presiding over what would in effect have been an autonomous regional state. Elsewhere in Europe,[63] and indeed in some parts of the Byzantine world,[64] the combination of strong local lordship, external enemies and

65. See supra 6-10.
66. A. A. M. BRYER, 'Greeks and Türkmens' 119, 127, 129, 132; F. BRAUDEL, The Mediterranean I, 87: "One anecdote deserves mention. Coron, on the Greek coast, was in 1499 still a Venetian outpost. The Pasha of Morea wanted to prevent the Albanians and Greeks of the little town from sowing crops or grazing flocks on the territory of the Grand Turk. The Rettori of Coron merely replied dolcemente, 'Our flocks may go to your land in summer, but your flocks come to ours in winter'." See also the evidence for early medieval Italy where the pastoral economy proved particularly vulnerable to political insecurity, C. WICKHAM, Studi sulla società degli Appennini nell'alto medioevo Università degli Studi di Bologna Quaderni del centro studi sorelle Clarke, II, Bologna (1982) 50-58; IDEM 'Pastoralism and underdevelopment in the early middle ages', Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XXXI (1983) 401-3.
67. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 72-5.

ineffectual central government led to the rise of just such virtually independent states.

In the second half of the 1070s the Anatolikon would appear to have been peculiarly suited to hold out in the face of the Turks. The theme had natural mountainous defences and refuge areas, reinforced by castles and fortified towns, several of which had been recently refurbished. The area did not lack fairly fertile arable land, but of far greater strategic importance, it included in the upper Maeander one of western Asia Minor's vital and limited zones of winter pasture.[65]

Throughout Asia Minor and the Middle East mounted nomad raiders were a persistent and often dangerous threat to the settled population, but the same raiders could be extremely vulnerable to counter attack against their own livestock at those seasons of the year when climate and geography forced them to migrate to particular grazing grounds. Such conditions could be exploited by the settled population, as in the Pontos, where they help to explain the survival of the Empire of Trebizond.[66]

In the later 1070s the Turks in Asia Minor were not yet organized into territorial states, They appear as no more than loose groups of Turkoman tribes, operating on the fringe of the Selçuk Empire, and still coming to terms with the new world that had opened up after the battle of Manzikert.[67] The Turkomans could certainly raid the Anatolikon to painful effect, but

68. Eg. the sack of Caesarea in Cappadocia, SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 119.
69. ATTALEIATES 269, 272; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 177; C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 75.
70. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 241; ATTALEIATES 266-7.

provided an organized defence was maintained they could not graze their herds on the essential winter pastures unless they either drove the Anatolikoi from their fortresses or came to an arrangement. Both courses presented problems, but whereas the first was probably impracticable for the Turcomans of the 1070s, examples elsewhere show that with time and experience the second could be made to succeed. The Turcomans had had some rare successes against walled cities and fortresses, but these had been due to surprise or luck, and it was not to be repeated against the numerous fortifications of a prepared enemy.[68] An accommodation needed two parties with sufficient control over their followers to ensure compliance with the terms of an agreement; complete pacification of the Turkomans was no doubt impossible, yet under certain circumstances and for specific ends their leaders were able to exercise a high degree of control. For example, in early 1078, following an agreement with Nikephoros Botaneiates, the sons of Kutlumuş were able to stop all Turkoman raiding in Bithynia. [69] It suggests that had Nikephoros had the power, influence and will, the collapse of the Anatolikon to the Turks was not inevitable.

In fact, however, neither Nikephoros Botaneiates nor any of the other 'easterners' named by Skylitzes seems to have made any such attempt to exploit the possibilities of the theme acting as an autonomous entity. The initiative for an alliance with the Turks came, not from the Byzantines, but from the sons of Kutlumuş at Nicaea late in February 1078.[70] They appear to

71. ANNA COMNENA II, 75; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 88.
72. Nikephoros was in command of both the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi at the battle of Zompos, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 169: echōn meth'eautou ten ton Phrygon kai ton Lykaonon phalagga, eti de kai ten ton Asianon. The former should be identified with the 11th century tagma of the Anatolikoi, rather than with the small unit later known as the chomatenoi, SKYLITZES 488; H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 34-5; c.f. H. GREGOIRE, 'Nicéphore Bryennios' B XXIII (1953) 514 n. 1; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 158.
73. ATTALEIATES 263; hypostrategoi: H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 40.
74. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 243; ANNA COMNENA I, 130; ATTALEIATES 263-6; the figure of 300, given by Bryennios and Anna, both writing at least 50 years after the event, is not necessarily reliable, but both principal sources - Bryennios and Attaleiates - are in agreement that Nikephoros' force was very small. The figure refers to the numbers with Nikephoros at Nicea, and hence it should include the Turks who joined at Kütahya. If so, it would follow that the number of Byzantines leaving the upper Maeander was even less. For the date at which Bryennios' history was composed, see NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS (Introduction), 28-9; the exact date has not been clarified by the new edition of the typikon, P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 42-3, n.8.
75. ATTALEIATES 265; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 100-02, 239.
76. ATTALEIATES 263-5; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 239-41.
77. ANNA COMNENA I, 18, 21-2, 100-03, 130, 136; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 265, 271; c.f. A. HOHLWEG, Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des öströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen Misc. Byzantina Monacensia I, Munich (1965) 81-2 which misidentifies Choma.

have thought there was profit to be made out of joining this attempt to seize the Imperial throne. The alliance was only temporary and reflected no common interest among the populations of western Asia Minor. Once away from the upper Maeander and the Anatolikon Nikephoros abandoned the region to the Turks.[71]

Equally the Anatolikoi showed little interest in him. Whereas in 1074 Nikephoros had been the commander of a large contingent of the Imperial army at Zompos,[72] in 1078 two of his hypostrategoi deserted very early in the enterprise,[73] and neither he, nor the others who had proclaimed him Emperor at Lampē in the previous October, could together muster any more than 300 men.[74] Their numbers were increased by the appearance of Chrysokoules and a small body of Turks who met them at Kütahya,[75] but until the sons of Kutlumuş joined Nikephoros at Nicaea, the enterprise had more the character of a furtive dash than a military expedition.[76]

The very small numbers of provincials who followed Nikephoros Botaneiates in 1078 is an indication of his limited influence in local society. Any hope of success rested on the support he enjoyed in Constantinople. Those who accompanied him from the upper Maeander, known as the Chomatenoi, the men from Choma, were to play an important part in Byzantine politics for the next four years, not through their numbers, but rather because they were an organized force of stratiotai in a state where the military system of the past had almost collapsed.[77]

- 78. ATTALEIATES 263-5.
- 79. IDEM 265-9; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 243-53.
- 80. See W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 37-8.
- 81. For the importance of such payments see SKYLITZES 316, 487-487-8; YAHYA 372; P. LEMERLE, 'Roga et rente d'état,' 77-100; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 181-92, 645-54.

Attaleiates would have wished to attribute Nikephoros Botaneiates' success to the hand of God and his hero's virtue,[78] but in fact both he and Bryennios make plain that Michael VII's regime fell because it was abandoned by the citizens of Constantinople. Nikephoros was in effect invited into the city and presented with the throne.[79] The alliance with the Turks helped, largely because the citizens were impressed by the return of security to western Bithynia, but there is no question of Nikephoros using Byzantine provincial strength to impose himself on the Imperial capital.

If Nikephoros Botaneiates is to be described as a landed magnate from the upper Maeander, then the events of 1077-8 are of great importance in putting his social position and local power into perspective. They show that when compared with the support such a man as Bardas Skleros had been able to muster on the eastern frontier a century earlier,[80] any power wielded by Nikephoros Botaneiates as a private individual in the upper Maeander was extremely limited.

Between 1074 and 1078 the authority that Nikephoros Botaneiates derived from his Imperial commission as doux of the Anatolikoi had declined. He was cut off from Constantinople and hence from any payment either for himself or for his army;[81] his own influence and possessions could not apparently compensate for this loss. As his authority began to crumble, not only was it impossible to carry on effective war against the Turks, but

82. Bryennios' attempt to suggest that Nikephoros was followed by the army of the east, in the same way that his grandfather's revolt was backed by the army of the west, it is contradicted by his own account, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 239.
83. See G. BUCKLER, *loc.cit.* supra n. 9.

the Anatolikoi would no longer obey his commands. Only a small group of adventurers joined his expedition to Constantinople.[82] For Nikephoros, and for those other holders of high office isolated from the court in Asia Minor, a return to the Imperial capital, by force if necessary, was essential if they were not to become utterly powerless.

Nikephoros Botaneiates would thus appear to have been a high ranking soldier and a prominent figure at the Imperial court during the third quarter of the 11th century who for probably historical reasons owned property in the upper Maeander.[83] Under normal circumstances that property no doubt made up a substantial part of his income, but it did not guarantee him any extraordinary provincial power. In this position Nikephoros is unlikely to have been unique. The Banaz and Baklan ovalarsı are a relatively extensive area, and other high ranking figures could well have owned land there. However, the silence of the sources, in particular the fact that neither Attaleiates nor Bryennios make any reference to other landed magnates playing an active part in the events of the 1070s, suggests that any other such landowner in the upper Maeander had no more local influence than did Nikephoros.

The lack of documentary sources obviously hides a great deal, including those distinctions which made the upper Maeander different from the rest of the Maeander region. Instead what stands out is the fact, common throughout the Maeander, that

there is no evidence for a resident landed aristocracy holding high rank in Constantinople and at the same time dominating local society.

1. See C. MANGO, Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome 49, 114;
M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine city' 9-
11; P. GAUTIER, 'L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme
du clergé', REB XXXI (1973) 165-201.
2. ibid. 165-70.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Secular Church in the Maeander Region.

It is current among Byzantine historians to take a rather gloomy view of the secular church in the middle Byzantine period. The evidence adduced includes the edict drawn up by Alexios I which castigates the secular church for its ill-educated, absentee bishops and its failure to fulfill pastoral tasks, in particular that of teaching the flock. Attention has also been drawn to low material standards of Byzantine bishops shown by archaeological evidence and recorded by contemporary observers, above all the 10th century Italian, Liudprand of Cremona. The low status of the secular church seems also to be confirmed by canon XIV of the council of 869 which sought to protect bishops from humiliation by lay dignitaries. The plain implication is that too many bishops were overawed in their presence and behaved in a manner hardly compatible with the theoretical dignity of their office. This discouraging picture supports the interpretation that the secular church, which had been closely tied to the urban culture of the late Roman world, fell as the cities fell, leaving moral and cultural supremacy to the monasteries.[1]

When examined in detail, however, this approach is less convincing than it may at first appear. Alexios' edict is difficult to accept as an unbiased assessment. As Gautier noted, the document has a pronounced pro-monastic tone,[2] and an

3. See P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 293-312; M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 114-34; R. BROWNING, 'Enlightenment and repression in Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', PP LXIX (1975) 3-23.
4. See ANNA COMNENA I, 32, 126-7; CYRIL PHILEOTES 90-94, 211-35.
5. P. GAUTIER, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène', REB XXVIII (1970) 5-55; IDEM, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', ibid. XXXIII (1975) 76-132.
6. ANNA COMNENA II, 11; V. GRUMEL, 'Les documents athonites l'attaire de Léon de Chalcedoine', Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati III, Studie e Testi 123, Vatican City (1946) 125.
7. Alexios' principal opponents were among the metropolitans, against whom he backed the patriarchal officials resident in Constantinople in the struggle over the role of synod, see J. DARROUZES, Documents inédits d'écclésiologie byzantine Paris (1966) 37-53.
8. See supra chapter six, *passim*.
9. LIUDPRAND OF CREMONA 176-210, 210-211; Liudprand calls him an episcopus, but he was in fact an archbishop, Notitiae Episcopatum Not. VII, nr. 81.

insecure and reactionary regime trying to strengthen its position by moral and ideological 'rearmament'.[3] In this process Alexios and his family found allies in the monks and monasteries,[4] and opponents among the secular clergy. John the Oxite, patriarch of Antioch, bitterly attacked Alexios' policies which he claimed had brought the Empire close to ruin.[5] Leo of Chalcedon similarly fought to prevent the Emperor's seizure of the church's wealth to pay for the Balkan war.[6] Alexios had reason to use reform as a weapon against the secular clergy[7] and it would be ingenuous to take the edict's criticism of the church at face value.

Equally the apparent low material standards of Byzantine bishops are far from being a reliable gauge of the state of the church. Archaeological evidence would suggest that these standards were typical of Byzantine culture in general.[8] Liudprand of Cremona's description of the bishop of Levkas needs to be taken in context with his view of the Byzantine court as squalid and poor.[9]

It should also be remembered that Liudprand's picture of a Byzantine bishop was given from a western perspective and on this topic comparisons can be misleading. The Byzantine church was organized on very different lines from that in the west. In particular the office of bishop was not the same in east and west. In western Europe, outside some areas of Italy, the bishop was a very important figure in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

10. See F. LOT, R. FAWTIER, Histoire des institutions franais au myen age III, Paris (1962) 160-87; R. BRETANO, Two churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century Princeton (1968) 62-173; F. BARLOW, The English church 1066-1154 London (1979) 29-53.
11. J.-B. PITR, Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta II, Rome (1868) xl-xli: the canons only survive in a latin translation made by Anastasius bibliothecarius.

Although the see would by the 11th century have been based on a town, the diocese would extend to include a number of other quite sizeable settlements provided with clergy and churches subordinate to the bishop. The diocese of Lincoln is an extreme example, but Oxford, which has been noted before as town in the 10th and 11th century, was not a bishopric. Until 1545 it came under the control first of Dorchester and then of Lincoln. In Byzantium every settlement which had ranked as a polis in the late Roman period was a bishopric. Throughout the Empire in the 10th and 11th century the ecclesiastical hierarchy numbered over 700 sees, including a great many very small sites. Some Byzantine bishops may have been able to match their western counterparts in smaller sees, but in general Byzantine metropolitans and archbishops are a closer equivalent to the western bishop; Byzantine bishops fulfilled some of the roles of western canons and other subordinate clergy. It follows that the relative poverty of the Byzantine episcopate is not evidence for the debased state of the secular church but simply a reflection on the rather different ecclesiastical organization in east and west.[10]

Canon XIV, however, certainly does reflect concern in the Byzantine church as to the dignity of the episcopate, and reveals that even by the standards of the eastern church the status of bishops in the 860s was low.[11] Yet as with Alexios' edict the Canon needs to be seen in context. The council of 869 was in effect still dealing with the aftermath of Iconoclasm. The

12. See PETER OF ATROA, La vita retracta 45-7; J. DARROUZES, 'Le patriarche Methode contre les iconoclastes et les stoudites', REB XLV (1987) 16-18;
13. See Notitiae Episcopatum Not. VII, nrs. 2, 6, 21, 22, 41, 43, 60, 85: nr. 84, Chonai, was still an archbishopric when this list was compiled in the first decade of the 10th century; by 945 it had been promoted to the rank of metropolitan, ibid. 78, 86; J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 82.

rapid political and religious shifts of the Iconoclastic period had led to the widespread replacement of bishops caught supporting the wrong side. By the second period of Iconoclasm after 815 there is evidence of some difficulty in finding suitable incumbents for episcopal sees. The problem was exacerbated by the Iconoclast triumph of 843 and the subsequent struggles first with the studites and then between the supporters of Photios and Ignatios. By the 860s suitable candidates for bishoprics would have been in short supply, and many incumbents were faced by a hostile clergy loyal to their predecessor and waiting for an opportunity to engineer their fall. Under these circumstances many inexperienced bishops, lacking the support of their community, were all too likely to have been overawed by lay officials as the council envisaged. The problem was not solved at once by the Canon of 869 and it was to resurface in the early 10th century during the conflict over Leo VI's fourth marriage, but in general Canon XIV should be seen in the context of short term difficulties rather than being an absolute judgement on the status of the middle Byzantine bishop.[12]

In the Maeander region during the 10th and 11th century the ecclesiastical hierarchy was headed by the metropolitans of Ephesos, Sardis, Caria (at Stauropolis), Laodicea, Hierapolis, Smyrna and Chonai, and the autocephalous archbishopric of Miletos.[13] Scattered among a variety of sources, a considerable body of evidence has survived for these sees, but the most detailed picture of the background, education and activities of

14. See supra.
15. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 134; K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 181-2.
16. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136-7; P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 283-4 n. 6.
17. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136; for castration as a step toward a court career, see Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 720-21.
18. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 139-40; J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les offikia 42 n. 2, 88.
19. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 141-3.
20. * ibid. 143.

any one individual has been preserved in the Life of St. Nikephoros who was archbishop of Miletos in the second half of the 960s. The date, authorship and composition of the Life have been discussed above in chapter nine.[14] The saint was born at Basilaion in the theme of the Boukellarioi.[15] His parents were supposedly of moderate independent means, but in view of their relationship (possibly kinship) with the distinguished magistros Mosele who looked after Nikephoros when he first came to Constantinople, they were almost certainly rather more exalted than the author implies.[16] From the first Nikephoros was intended for a successful career. Again hagiographic formulae rather obscure the truth, but aged eight he was sent to Constantinople for an expensive education, and the fact that he had been castrated as a child suggests that his parents hoped he would become a civilian official in the court of hierarchy.[17] However his ecclesiastical career could hardly have been a great disappointment. He left the house of the magistros Mosele, not for any ascetic purpose, but to move into the quarters of the Imperial clergy near the Hippodrome where he was ordained priest.[18] As such he accompanied Niketas, the brother of the protovestiaros Michael on the disastrous Italian expedition of 964. Preferment followed within a few years; in 968 or 969 he was appointed archbishop of Miletos.[19]

The Life explains, in phrases proper to the genre, that Nikephoros was an exemplary archbishop, administering his church, caring for the faithful and teaching his flock.[20] This may or

21. ibid. 143-5.

22. Archbishops attended the synod in Constantinople with the metropolitans: J. HAJJAR, Le Synode permanent dans l'église byzantine des origines au XIe siècle Rome (1962).

may not have been so, but the Life also implies that his period at Miletos was short and not very happy. Nikephoros had arrived in his see to discover that the local agents of Myrelaion had taken advantage of the interregnum to ransack the archiepiscopal estates, and he was forced to appeal to the Emperor for restitution. Hardly had a decision been reached in his favour when Nikephoros II Phokas was assassinated and a delay followed until the new Emperor, John Tzimiskes, sent a certain Sachakios to take action. For unexplained reasons Sachakios was believed at the Xerochoraphion to have attempted to poison the archbishop. Whether this was Nikephoros' paranoia or hidden political or personal motive the Life gives no clue. Nikephoros reported the episode to John Tzimiskes and at the same time abandoned his see in order to pursue an ascetic Life on mount Latros.[21]

Nikephoros was an archbishop, but for most purposes an autocephalous archbishopric was equivalent to a metropolitan see and a number of features of his career and background seem to have been the common experience of senior secular churchmen.[22]

In the first place, Nikephoros, like the strategos or judge, was an outsider to the Maeander region. He had been born at Basilaion in Galatia, 500 kilometres north-west of Miletos. What other family ties he had were with Constantinople not the Maeander. The same can only rarely be demonstrated for other metropolitans and archbishops in the Maeander region, but it is sufficiently well attested elsewhere to suggest strongly that it

23. PAUL OF LATROS 128.
24. GEORGES ET DEMETRIOS TORNIKES 15-17, 25-8.
25. P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 239-40.
26. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 51-2.
27. A. KARPOZELOS, Symbole ste melete tou biou kai tou ergou tou Iannou Mauropodos Ioannina (1982) 23-5.
28. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID I, 12-13.
29. J. DARROUZES, 'Obit de deux métropolités d'Athens, Leon Xèros et Georges Bourtzes, d'après les inscriptions du Parthénon', REB XX (1962) 190-96; see supra 350-53.
30. J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas Peloponnesos, 1180-1205', DOP XXIX (1975).

was the general rule.

In the Maeander region, during the 10th century Paul of Latros prophesied that a deacon of the church of St. John at Ephesos would one day become metropolitan of Nea Patras.[23] Later in the 12th century, Georges Tornikes, one of a family of Armenian origin but by this date based in Constantinople, first of all refused the metropolitan see of Corinth before accepting the see of Ephesos.[24]

Outside the region, the famous Arethras in the late 9th and early 10th century was born in Patras and later became metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia.[25] Theodore, metropolitan of Nicea in the 10th century, was also born in the Peloponnese.[26] John Mauropous, metropolitan of Euchaita in northern Anatolia beyond the river Halys, had been born in Paphlagonia and was brought by his uncle at Claudiopolis in Bithynia.[27] Theophylact of Ochrid was born on the island of Euboea and became archbishop of Bulgaria.[28] In the 12th century Leo Xeros, presumably from the same Constantinopolitan family who provided a judge of the Thrakesioi in the 11th century, was metropolitan of Athens.[29] A later metropolitan of the same see was Michael Choniates who had been born in the Maeander region at the town of Chonai.[30]

The Life also provides valuable evidence for a metropolitan's education. Nikephoros left the Boukellarion aged

31. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136-8; P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 282-5.
32. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 354.
33. SATHAS, MB V, 143-4.
34. R. BROWNING, 'The patriarchal school at Constantinople in the 12th century', B XXXII (1962) 167-202, XXXIII (1963) 11-40.
35. See C. MANGO , Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome 140-48.
36. See ARETHRAS, Scripta minora ed. L. G. Westerink, Leipzig (1968-72) *passim*.
37. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 27-32, 49-57, 67-98, 261-316.
38. LEO OF SYNADA ed. M. P. Vinson.

eight in order to be educated in Constantinople. The Life makes quite plain that boys received an advanced education in the capital because this was the recognized route to high office.[31]

Several metropolitans were related to other holders of metropolitan sees, often as nephews. An anonymous metropolitan of Chonai in the 10th century, for example, had an uncle who was metropolitan of Patras;[32] John Maruopous' uncle had been metropolitan of Claudiopolis.[33] Yet in each case it seems that at least under normal circumstances, preferment to high office in the church could only be achieved through an education in Constantinople.

For the 12th century the close link between literary culture and high office in the secular church is well documented. Many of those who attended or taught at the patriarchal school went on to become metropolitans or archbishops.[34] However there is nothing to suggest that this was a new development. Over the previous two centuries or more the metropolitans were evidently part of an educated elite, which included judges and high civilian officials, who all shared a Constantinopolitan literary culture.[35]

The evidence is extensive. As well as the literary letters and other 'high-style' works of such metropolitans as Arethras of Caesarea,[36] Alexander and Theodore of Nicaea,[37] and Leo of Synada[38] in the 10th century, and John Mauropous of

39. Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae ed. P. de Lagarde, Gottingen (1882).
40. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID I-II ed. P. Gautier.
41. e.g. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 219-20, 221-5, 227, 229, 239, 245-7; SATHAS, MB V, 102-5, 142-67; Ep. 30, 265-6; Ep. 35, 269-70; Ep. 62, 294-5; Ep. 64, 296; Ep. 80, 313-4; Ep. 111, 356; Ep. 173, 440-41; Ep. 178, 456-7; Ep. 182, 462-5; PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 12, 13-14; Ep. 32, 49-50; Ep. 33-4, 50, 56; Ep. 45-6, 75-8; Ep. 49, 81-2; Ep. 54, 85-7; Ep. 57, 89-91; Ep. 58, 91; Ep. 105, 133-5; Ep. 129, 152; Ep. 136, 161-3; Ep. 225, 268-9; Ep. 229, 272-4; Ep. 230, 274-5; Ep. 259, 305-6; Ep. 263, 308-9; Ep. 269, 314-5; P. GAUTIER 'Quelques lettres de Psellos' Ep. 18, 162-4 (To the metropolitan of Thessalonika, former maistor ton rhetoron); Ep. 19-20, 164-7; Ep. 34, 190-91.
42. IGNATIOS THE DEACON, Ep. 9.
43. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 218; see supra
44. ibid. 147, 150-52.
45. SATHAS, MB V, 102-5.

Euchaita[39] and Theophylact of Ochrid[40] in the 11th, metropolitans appear frequently as correspondants and friends in the other literary collections of the period.[41] From Photios through to Michael Psellos the metropolitans were prominent members of the Byzantine cultural elite.

Evidence has survived for the literary culture of several metropolitans of the Maeander region. An early 9th century metropolitan of Caria was a friend and correspondent of Ignatios the deacon.[42] Anastasios, metropolitan of Laodicea, was a correspondent of Nikephoros Ouranos and had known this influential official since childhood.[43] Niketas of Smyrna was a friend of Symeon the logothete. The greater part of their correspondence is filled with the conventional conceits of Byzantine letter writing - sorrow over absence, apologies for failure to write - but on one occasion Symeon reminds Niketas that he had promised him the loan of his copy of the letters of St. Basil. Further he adds that a mutual friend from the hierarchy of patriarchal officials in Constantinople, the sakellarios Peter, had just been promoted to the see of Laodicea.[44] Later in the 11th century Nikephoros of Ephesos was a friend and correspondent of Michael Psellos. On his death Psellos composed a lament in which he praised the elegance and skill of the late metropolitan's literary works.[45] In the same century what is now known as the 'A' manuscript of Plato Parisinus Gr. 1807, was in Hierapolis. The manuscript dates from the second half of the 9th century and is only slightly older than Arethras of Caesarea's own copy, MS

46. H. OMONT, Oeuvres philosophiques de Platon, Platonis codex Parisinus A Paris (1908) I, 1, 5; I, f. 344v.
47. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.
48. M. MULLET, 'The classical tradition in the Byzantine letter' 91.
49. IGNATIOS THE DEACON, Ep. 9.
50. J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les offikia 28-32, 46-8.

Clarke 39, which is dated to 896. A note on folio 344 verso written in an 11th century hand records that the book had been corrected by Constantine, metropolitan of Hierapolis.[46]

Having been educated in Constantinople Nikephoros left the city to become archbishop. The Life shows him resident in his see, and when its author describes the saint's fine qualities he assumes that these were pastoral virtues exercised in the diocese.[47]

Middle Byzantine metropolitans were certainly in many cases not enthusiastic about their provincial seats. John Mauropous' gloom about what he saw as exile to Euchaita or Theophylact of Ochrid's dismay at the barbarities of his flock are well known, and they are typical of a general tone which pervades ecclesiastical correspondence.[48] It is hardly surprising, given that their culture was focused on the capital city, that the metropolitans do seem to have spent a significant part of their time in Constantinople. In the first half of the 9th century a letter has survived from Ignatios, the literary metropolitan of Nicaea, to the metropolitan of Caria which reveals that neither prelate intended to spend Christmas in their sees; instead they looked forward to meeting each other in Constantinople.[49] The Book of Ceremonies shows that a body of metropolitans, about twelve, was expected at various court feasts throughout the year.[50] A few metropolitans held offices in the patriarchal hierarchy which demanded their occasional presence in

51. ibid. 38; PHOTIOS II, nr. 181, 70.
52. J. HAJJAR, Le Synode permanent.
53. e.g. NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS, Miscellaneous writings 58; G. FICKER, Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites Festschrift Wilhelm II, Keil (1911) 18-21, 25-7, 28-42.
54. ATTALEIATES 180; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 185.
55. J. GOUILLARD, 'Une oeuvre inédite du patriarche Méthode. La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes', BZ LIII (1960) 36-46.
56. LAZAROS 520, 526, 531, 542, 581-2.
57. The letters of the patriarch Photios tend not to be concerned with such concrete details, but see PHOTIOS II, Ep. 281, 233-6, implying Theophanes of Caesarea resident in his see; the collection of Nicholas Mystikos' correspondence is more important for showing metropolitans in their sees dealing with local problems, e.g. NICOLAS MYSTIKOS Ep. 43, 260-2; Ep. 57, 300; Ep. 58, 302; Ep. 114, 400; Ep. 117, 404-6; Ep. 119, 408-10; Ep. 123, 414-6; for the Maeander region note Gregory of Ephesos in his see on 8th May, the feast day of the Apostle John, ibid. Ep. 41, 258-60; Ep. 178, 506-8; see also ibid. Ep. 39, 254-6; Ep. 94, 358-60; the patriarch also wrote to the strategos and possibly the judge of the Thrakesioi asking them to help a new metropolitan of Sardis - evidently the metropolitan was expected in his see, ibid. Ep. 180-81, 510-12. In the 11th century the sermons of John Mauropous show that he was certainly resident at Euchaita, Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae 87-8, 135-6, 160-65, 207-9; several letters of Michael Psellos are also to metropolitans in their sees, PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 58, 91; Ep. 137, 161-3; P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos', 161-4; Theophylact of Ochrid was also normally resident in Bulgaria, see THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, *passim*; much of the point of the dispute between the metropolitans and the patriarchal clergy over the synod depended on the assumption that the former were not permanently resident in Constantinople, M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 122.
58. M. MULLET, 'The Byzantine Letter' 91-2.

the capital,[51] and the increasing importance of the Synodos endemousa, the standing synod, further encouraged metropolitans to come to Constantinople.[52] Other synods were also summoned from time to time, and contrary to earlier practice, in the 10th and 11th centuries these only involved metropolitans and archbishops.[53]

However, with some possible exceptions such as John of Side, who acted for a period in the 1070s as a chief minister to Michael VII,[54] up until the Turkish invasion the metropolitans were only temporary visitors to the capital. Apart from a few examples such as St. Nikephoros of Miletos in the 10th century, St. Euthymios of Sardis in the later 8th and early 9th century,[55] and several references to the metropolitan of Ephesos in the Life of St. Lazaros showing him present in the region,[56] the best evidence for this being a general pattern comes from the large surviving body of ecclesiastical correspondence.[57] The repeated complaints about failure to write, absence and miseries of exile may reflect a literary fashion but they are also concrete evidence that the correspondants were in their sees.[58]

No individual metropolitan is so well documented that one can establish how much time was spent in the see and how much elsewhere, but whatever the case it would be a mistake to regard all absences as evidence for the negligence of the secular hierarchy. Unlike the judges and strategoi who were only in the

59. LEO OF SYNADA xi-xii.

60. ibid. 68-70.

61. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.

theme for a few years, the metropolitan's office was expected to be permanent, and it would be unreasonable to expect an educated elite, foreign to the region, to spend their whole lives in remote corners of the Empire. In addition to any personal advantage, time spent in Constantinople could help to remind the lay hierarchy of a metropolitan's existence. Leo of Synada, for example, while metropolitan was absent from his see acting as ambassador for Basil II in Italy and Germany. He was also present in Constantinople on other occasions. Yet his letters also show that he could use his reputation with the Emperor and other officials to protect the interests of the metropolis of Synada.[59]

Leo seems to have been most concerned to maintain the revenues of his see,[60] and the Life of St. Nikephoros also draws attention to the wealth of the church of Miletos. One of the saintly archbishop's virtues was his careful administration of the church's lands. The Life makes the conventional point that St. Nikephoros wanted to spend the see's revenue on the poor, but it also reveals that the archbishop's charity had to be limited because the estates had been ransacked by the agents of the neighbouring Imperial lands of the Myrelaion.[61]

We do not have a clear picture of the economic base of any of the metropolitan sees of the Maeander region, but it is evident they were not impoverished. Indeed had they been so they would hardly have been the focus of such efforts put into gaining

62. See J. MORGANSTERN, The Byzantine Church at Dereagzi and its decoration Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 29, Tübingen (1983); C. MANGO, Byzantine Architecture 165-74.
63. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 52-4, 87, 112, 128, 132.
64. See A. GRABAR, Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge (XIe-XIVe siècle) Paris (1976) 41-9; there is also a considerable body of unpublished sculpture of this period, see supra
65. See *infra* 471-2.
66. GEORGES ET DEMETRIOS TORNIKES 124-5.

education to make one eligible to be a metropolitan. In concrete terms the surviving evidence for the wealth of Maeander sees is rather slight. There is nothing known to parallel the remarkable 9th century church at Dereag̃zi in Lycia,[62] but the rebuilding, even on a smaller scale, of the cathedral church of St. Mary at Ephesos,[63] and the achievement of keeping large buildings such as the church of St. John at Ephesos or St. Michael at Chonai in safe repair should not be overlooked. A considerable amount of architectural sculpture, dated to the 10th and 11th century, has also been discovered throughout the region.[64] As we shall see, many of those with dedicatory inscriptions are associated with suffragan bishops rather than laymen,[65] and there is no reason to believe that the metropolitans would have been left out of this activity. In the 12th century Ephesos was regarded as a wealthy see; George Tomikes refused Corinth on the grounds that it was too poor; he presumably accepted Ephesos for the opposite reason.[66] Since it would hardly have been newly endowed in the first fifty years of the 12th century, Ephesos must have been wealthy before the Turkish invasions.

The revenue of the metropolitan sees in the Maeander region would have been derived from three main sources. Firstly, landed estates; secondly, the dues owed by metropolitan monasteries; and thirdly, various other revenues ranging from the profits of a panegyris to Imperial benefactions, lay gifts and dues payable on burial and other such occasions.

67. A. H. M. JONES, 'Church Finance in the Fifth and Sixth centuries', Journal of Theological Studies N.S. XI (1960) 84-94; IDEM, The Later Roman Empire II, 894-912.
68. LAZAROS 520.
69. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050) Vatican City (1974) 5-15.
70. See IDEM, 'La soie du katépanat d'Italie', TM VI (1976) 69-84.
71. IDEM, Le Brébion 17 n. 1, 155.

In many metropolitan sees the most important source of revenue was probably the landed estates. The late Roman church, especially in such a prosperous part of the Empire as western Asia Minor, had been well endowed[67] and while there is no case for believing in undisturbed continuity, sees in an area such as the Maeander which had not been subject to conquest might well have kept a proportion of their original landed wealth. The evidence for such estates is however very slight. Apart from the mention in the Life of St. Nikephoros, the only reference in the Maeander region is to the metropolitan of Ephesos in about 1010 giving a field near the main road from Ephesos to Smyrna to St. Lazaros' first foundation of St. Marina.[68] The silence is not peculiar to the Maeander region; estate records for the secular church are rare anywhere in the Empire. The only substantial archive of any Byzantine documents to survive for the Maeander region is that at the monastery of St. John on Patmos. Since St. John's, like the Nea Moni on Chios and the Stylos on Latros, was independent of the metropolitan the monks would have had no interest in preserving records of the secular church.

The major surviving piece of evidence for the landed revenues of a middle Byzantine metropolitan see is the brebion or estate roll of the metropolis of Reggio in Calabria which was drawn up in about 1050.[69] Unfortunately the roll is incomplete and only covers dues owed on mulberry trees which were the basis of the south Italian silk industry.[70] Yet the sums given add up to over 7½ pounds of gold,[71] and although not a very large

72. ibid. 12-13.
73. C.f. A. GUILLOU , 'Production and Profits in the Byzantine province of Italy (tenth to eleventh centuries): an expanding society', DOP XXVIII (1974) 91-109.
74. JUSTINIAN, Novel I, 9; LXVII, 1-2; CXXIII, 18.

figure in itself, 7½ pounds plus whatever was owed in the missing portions of the document, plus dues on grain and vines which seem to have been recorded in two separate rolls,[72] suggests a rather substantial landed endowment, making the metropolis an important landowner in this part of southern Italy.

Western Asia Minor did not grow mulberry trees for silk and it is therefore difficult to apply the detailed evidence of this document to the metropolitan sees of the Maeander. However, there is no convincing reason to think that economic conditions in western Asia Minor that Reggio would have been an exceptionally wealthy see.[73] Even if one cannot put any figures to it, it seems almost certain that the metropolitan sees were among the larger land-owners in western Asia Minor.

The second major source of a metropolitan's revenue came from monasteries. All monasteries were by a novel of Justinian I, repeated in subsequent legislation, under the control of the bishop in whose diocese they lay, save where the founder had specified otherwise and the monastery had the necessary documentary proof.[74] Apart from those lying within the diocese of the metropolitan church itself, the metropolitan also controlled certain monasteries in suffragan sees within the metropolitan province which had either been founded or refounded by a metropolitan, or had been entrusted to the metropolitan by their founder. The latter possibility offered advantages of protection from the local bishop to those who could not aspire to

75. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion 31-2 n. 1.
76. See P. LEMERLE, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères a byzance: les monastères donnés à des laics, les charisticaires', Comptes rendus des séances de l'academie des inscriptions et belles lettres (1967) 9-28; H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'atribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles,' ZRVI X (1967) 1-27.
77. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion 31-64, 211-23.
78. T. I. USPENSKIJ, 'Mnêmija i postanovlenija Konstantinopol'skih pomêstnykh soborov XI i XII vv. o razdatchê tserkovnykh imuchtchev (kharistikarii)', IRAIK V (1900) 1-3, 9-12, 28-9.
79. ibid. 32-41.
80. See the list in H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution' 25-7.
81. LAZAROS 542, 581-2.
82. ibid. 520.
83. ibid. 520-21.

patriarchal or imperial protection.[75]

All such metropolitan monasteries could be exploited either directly or indirectly. In the former case the metropolitan would levy dues directly from the monastery; in the latter the monastery and its estates would be handed over for a specified period to a lay charistikarios who would pay for the privilege.[76] From evidence concerning a number of metropolitan sees, including Reggio,[77] Kyzikos[78] and Athens,[79] the farming of monasteries generally formed a major part of metropolis' income. Poor management of this resource could lead to a financial crisis.

There is only limited evidence for such metropolitan monasteries in the Maeander region, but several are attested and charistikarioi in the region are well known. One may presume that as elsewhere they were an important asset.[80] The metropolitan's financial interests evidently lay behind the struggle with the monks of Galesion recorded in the Life of St. Lazaros.[81] Even early in Lazaros' career it may be ingenuous to see the metropolitan's gift of a field to the community at St. Marina as a simple act of charity.[82] The gift may have been intended to stake the metropolitan's claim to control the monastery, possibly with the rights of a founder. According to the Life Lazaros' subsequent move to Galesion was in search of eremia, but it would also have had the effect of escaping the metropolitan's supervision.[83]

84. THEOPHANES 469-70.
85. See infra 463-4; S. VRYONIS, 'The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint: a study in the nature of a medieval institution, its origins and fate', in The Byzantine Saint 196-226.
86. LAZAROS 510-11; note the similar description of the panegyris at Ephesos, PAUL OF LATROS 111.
87. LEO OF SYNADA 68-70.

In addition to land and the profits from monasteries, the metropolis also benefitted from a number of other resources. In the case of Ephesos the most important is likely to have been an annual revenue drawn from the panegyris held each year on the feast day of St. John. In 794 Constantine VI, in gratitude for a victory gained over the Arabs, had granted the annual revenue of the panegyris, estimated at 100 pounds of gold, to the church of St. John.[84]

If the metropolis was still entitled to the revenue in the 11th century, in view of the development in the region's economy since the 8th century, it is likely to have been worth twice as much, or more. Even if the benefaction no longer applied, the close link between the church celebrating the saint's feast day and the panegyris would have ensured a large profit to the metropolitan church.[85] A panegyris probably took place at Chonai,[86] and others may have existed around the other important churches of the region.

Less spectacular Imperial donations than that of Constantine VI seem also to have played a part in the income of many metropolitan sees. No specific example has survived from the Maeander region, but at Synada, beyond the upper Maeander to the east, the metropolis had been granted by Chrysobull an annual supply of wine and oil.[87]

Finally the profits which the metropolitan and his clergy

88. A. H. M. JONES, 'Church Finance in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries' 84-7.
89. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 125-8; Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 663-6, 676; PAUL OF LATROS 111; CYRIL PHILEOTES 94-8.
90. See R. CURZON, Visits to Monasteries in the Levant London (1849) 208-18.
91. Hence his presence in the see on 8th may each year, NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS, Ep. 41, 258-60; Ep. 178, 506-8.
92. See supra 401-24.

derived from the exercise of their proper ecclesiastical functions and from the donations of the faithful should not be overlooked.[88] Apart from the regular dues received for baptisms, marriages, burials and other functions each church would have been the focus of pious donations to the local saint. In this respect the major cult centres of the Byzantine world, with their metropolitans as the living representatives of St. John and St. Michael respectively. At Ephesos each year on the 7th May, the eve of the panegyris on the 8th, the citizens of Ephesos and pilgrims from far afield went in procession to lay flowers on the tombs of the Apostle John and St. Timothy. There followed a night-long mass attended by crowds who filled the church waiting for the miracle of the holy dust or manna which issued from the tomb and would cure all ills.[89] The occasion must have had something of the character of the annual miracle of the holy fire at Jerusalem.[90] It was not only profitable - apart from any revenue from the fair, this was obviously also the moment for gifts to the saint in gratitude or hope for a cure - it was also an opportunity for the metropolitan to display his parousia with the Apostle and thus reinforce his status and spiritual power.[91] The survival of detailed saint's Lives such as those of St. Paul of Latros and St. Lazaros of Galesion reveals the role such monastic holy men played in local life, but it should not be forgotten that they were essentially works of propaganda,[92] and they almost certainly obscure the fact that the supreme spiritual power in the region lay with the metropolitan and his cathedral church.

93. It had the smallest number of suffragan bishops, bar honai, and there is no evidence that the shrine of the Apostle Philip was a pilgrimage site in the middle ages, see Notitiae Episcopatum Not. X, nrs 597-606; see supra
94. See J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les Offikia 117-22.
95. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, nr. 263, 184-5.
96. PAUL OF LATROS 128.
97. LAZAROS 585.
98. See NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS Ep. 89, 350.
99. * See J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government' 258, 260-65; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 108-14.

Among the metropolitan sees of the Maeander region there must have been great discrepancies in wealth. Ephesos was no doubt the richest see; Hierapolis for example was probably among the poorer,[93] but in general the evidence points to a well endowed church. This wealth supported and was administered by a metropolitan hierarchy of officials and clergy modelled on the patriarchal hierarchy in Constantinople.[94] The Life of St. Nikephoros does not mention these officials, the ecclesiastical archontes, but this is to be expected since they can hardly have been pleased when the archbishop deserted his church to become a monk on Latros. Only a few seals[95] and rare references, such as that in the Life of St. Paul of Latros to a deacon swinging a censor in the church of St. John,[96] or in the Life of St. Lazaros to the oikonomos of Ephesos,[97] reveal their existence in the Maeander region before the Turkish invasions,[98] but elsewhere they are well documented for the 11th and 12th century, and a considerable number are known at Smyrna in the 13th century.[99]

The archontes generally included an oikonomos, who was responsible for the finances of the see; a sakellarios, who was in charge of chapels and monasteries in the see and their contributions to the metropolis' funds; a skeuophylax who had custody of the church's sacred vessels; a chartophylax who signed documents, kept records and possibly looked after the library; and a protekdikos who exercised various judicial functions. In addition there was a staff of clergy including a

100. J. HERRIN , op.cit.

101. LAZAROS 531, 542, 581-2.

102. See Notitiae Episcopatum 3-135; J. DARROUZES, 'Sur les variations numeriques des évêchés byzantins', REB XLIV (1986) 5-40; P. CULERRIER, 'Les évêchés suffragants d'Ephèse au 5e-13e siècles', REB XLV (1987) 139-64.

protopapas and several deacons who ran the ceremonies of the metropolitan church and carried out necessary ecclesiastical tasks in the absence of the metropolitan. The archontes and clergy often included relatives of the current metropolitan or his predecessor, but the majority appear to have been local men. They formed an important body with a permanent interest in maintaining the see's wealth and reputation.[100] In the Life of St. Lazaros it is clear that it was not so much the metropolitan but the archontes and clergy of Ephesos who were determined that the prosperous community on Galesion should not escape metropolitan control.[101]

The seven metropolitan sees of the Maeander region were divided between some 124 suffragan bishoprics. The number is uncertain because no official lists of middle Byzantine suffragan sees have survived. An official list of the metropolitans and archbishops was compiled in the early 10th century under the orders of the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos but it did not extend to the suffragans. Subsequent notitiae included suffragan sees on the basis of various earlier and often incompatible sources. The result has been that while the later notitiae are usually reliable witnesses to the metropolitans and archbishops, the presence or otherwise of a particular suffragan owes more to the vagaries of a complicated manuscript tradition than to whether or not the see existed.[102]

103. J. DARROUZES, Documents inédits d'écclésiologie byzantine
11-20.
104. See supra n. 53; J.-B. MANSI, XVII, 371-526.
105. G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Syntagma V, 26-9.
106. A. MICHEL, 'Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios', BZ
CLI (1941) 446-52.

Taking a Constantinopolitan perspective, with a view over the Byzantine church as a whole, suffragan bishops were of a rather low status, strictly subordinate to their metropolitan. Whereas metropolitans were chosen and ordained in Constantinople by Patriarch, the suffragan bishops were ordained in the province by the metropolitan.[103] Up to the later 9th century suffragans had on occasion been summoned to Constantinople to attend church councils, but later synods were composed only of metropolitans, archbishops and the archontes.[104] In January 1028 the synod issued a series of decrees reminding suffragan bishops of their duty to obey their metropolitan. Suffragans who squandered the resources of their see were to have an oikonomos appointed by the metropolitan imposed on them to supervise their actions; a bishop was not to come to Constantinople without a written order from his metropolitan; if a bishop ignored the commands of his metropolitan he was to be deposed.[105] In the mid 11th century, two priests from the diocese of Tranoupolis, in the Maeander region, lying in the northern part of the Banaz ovası, appealed to the Patriarch against the actions of their bishop. The Patriarch, Michael Keroullarios, referred the matter to the metropolitan of Laodicea in whose province Tranoupolis lay, instructing him alone to judge the bishop and punish him if guilty.[106]

The collections of elegant literary correspondence affected by the education elite whether metropolitans, judges or court officials emphasizes the gulf between the suffragan appear only

107. IGNATIOS THE DEACON, Ep. 10...
108. PHOTIOS I, Ep. 23, 74-5; see also IDEM III, Ep. 294, 158-9.
109. PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 75, 107; SATHAS, MB V, nr. 62, 294:
the relationship seems to be slightly one sided but Psellos
praises the bishop's virtue and holiness, and appears to
value his friendship; see F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien
252-3.
110. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, 53-4, 57-68.
111. ibid. Ep. 56, 321.

rarely and in general such letters are written in a different tone than those addressed to metropolitans. In the first half of the 9th century Ignatios the metropolitan of Nicaea dropped his usual display of flattering rhetoric and briskly ordered the bishop of Taïon to repay a debt.[107] In those rare examples which have survived among Photios' correspondence, the suffragan bishop, in contrast to the metropolitans who were addressed in friendly tones, was generally the recipient of a stern order, backed up if necessary by the threat of excommunication or suspension.[108] Later collections tend to ignore suffragans altogether. Neither that of the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos nor any of the other 10th century letter collections include correspondence with a suffragan bishop. With only one exception the same applies to the collections of John Mauropous and Michael Psellos in the 11th century.[109]

However this impression may be slightly misleading. The correspondence of Theophylact of Ochrid, archbishop of Bulgaria, writing at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century includes letters addressed to a number of suffragan bishops. Unlike the earlier collections which tend to reflect the concerns of a coterrie centred on Constantinople, a great deal of Theophylact of Ochrid's correspondence sheds light on the social world of his Balkan province.[110] Theophylact the archbishop is quite clearly a more exalted figure than his suffragans, but he treats them seriously, asking for their prayers and support,[111] and advises them on how to face the

112. ibid. Ep. 21, 199-201.

113. ibid. Ep. 58, 327-35; Ep. 59, 337-41; Ep. 60, 343-9; Ep.
87, 457-9.

114. See supra 214-16.

115. ibid.

officials of the fisc.[112] A bishop who defies the orders of the archbishop and of the provincial synod is not summarily punished, as the decrees of 1028 might indicate, but rather cajoled and persuaded into obedience.[113] From a distance the metropolitan may appear supreme and the suffragan a figure of little consequence, but within the ecclesiastical community of the province relations were it seems more delicately balanced. On the slight evidence available it is as important not to underestimate the role of the suffragan bishops in the Maeander region as in the archbishopric of Bulgaria.

Just as the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos can shed light on the background and career of the senior members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, so the Life of St. Luke the stylite provides important evidence for the background and status of a suffragan bishop in the Maeander.

The Life of St. Luke has already been discussed above in chapter five for the picture it gives of extensive arable farming in the plains of the upper Maeander.[114] St. Luke was the son of a prosperous family of local land-owners who had the hereditary duty of military service in the thematic army of the Anatolikoi. There is nothing in the Life to suggest that St. Luke's family held any rank or office, they can rather be described with confidence as local gentry.[115]

Shortly after 926, when it seems that St. Luke was 47, he

116. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 170, 185, 208; c.f. C. MANGO, Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome 49; see supra 221-3.
117. A. H. M. JONES, The Later Roman Empire II, 909-10.
118. JUSTINIAN I, Novel CXXIII, 3.
119. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR II, 251; VI, 7.
120. ibid. V, 29, 3-5.
121. G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Syntagma I, 76-7.

persuaded his father to give him 100 nomismata so that he could become bishop of Sebaste, a suffragan see of Laodicea on the eastern side of the Banaz ovası.[116] In the event St. Luke spent the sum on the local poor, but the Life clearly presumes that such payments were a normal part of becoming a bishop, and that St. Luke was just the sort of person likely to become bishop of a see such as Sebaste. Nothing about the episode was out of the ordinary save for the saint's act of charity.

The payment of 100 nomismata was a customary fee made by a new bishop to the archdeacon or protopapas of the diocese.[117] In 546 Justinian I issued a novel, number CXXIII, which in chapter III lays down a fixed proportion between entry fines to a bishopric and the expected revenues of the see.⁴ According to this a sum of 100 nomismata would be payable on a revenue expected to be between 5 and 10 pound per annum.[118] There is no evidence to show that this scale still applied in the 10th century. chapters from novel CXXIII appear in the Epanagoge[119] and the Basilika,[120] from the late 9th and early 10th century respectively, but they exclude this particular passage. Similarly the Nomocanon XIV titulorum, which was the standard collection of canons used by the middle Byzantine church, quotes from chapter III of the novel but omits the list of fees.[121]

Nonetheless, although 100 nomismata was not a fortune at this period, it was a substantial sum of money and the payment proves that the bishopric of Sebaste was far from

122. See G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Löhne und Preise' 293-333; N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle' 49-67.
123. See infra 22 473-5.
124. This can be compared with Theodore of Sykeon, who as bishop of Anastasioupolis in the late 6th century, received just over 5 pounds of gold per anum: Vie de Théodore de Sykéon ed. A.-J. Festugière, Brussels (1970) I, c. 78.
125. See supra 221-3.
126. e.g. PAUL OF LATROS 116: a monastery under the bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander, a suffragan of Ephesos; see also G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Syntagma V, 30.
127. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion 31-2, n1.

impoverished.[122] The fact of the payment being expected implies the assumption that Sebaste was an asset worth having and that the bishop would make a profit out of his office. As with the metropolitan see, save on a smaller scale, the revenue had to support various clergy and ecclesiastical officials in addition to the bishop.[123] It therefore follows that Sebaste's revenues must at the least have been a few pounds of gold per annum.[124]

The prosperity of the bishopric has been confirmed by the excavation of two middle Byzantine churches at Sebaste. The northern church contained a fine decorated iconostasis of the 10th or 11th century with an inscription recording that it had been set up by bishop Eustathios, which makes it likely that either this church or the slightly larger building to the south was the cathedral of Sebaste. Neither were large buildings by the standards of late Roman episcopal basilicas, but in Byzantine terms they are quite impressive, and the iconostasis is evidence of care and expense.[125]

Like those of the metropolis, the revenues which supported the bishopric of Sebaste would have been derived from land, episcopal monasteries and various ecclesiastical profits. Episcopal monasteries are known to have existed in other suffragan diocese,[126] but most of the wealthier houses would have been under the authority of the metropolitan, or even the patriarch.[127] Dues payable on such occasions as marriages and burials brought in some revenue, but a church such as Sebaste

128. Relics and icons of local significance should not, of course, be overlooked.
129. T. MACRIDY, 'Altertümer von Notion', Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien VIII (1905) 155.

would not have had either the bones of a famous saint or so powerful and miracle working icon as would encourage large donations to the church.[128] The bulk of the see's revenue therefore must have come from land, and in view of the 100 nomismata which the clergy could charge a new bishop, and the quality of the excavated church buildings and architectural carving, it is almost certain that the bishopric of Sebaste was a substantial local land-owner.

If the author of the Life thought none of this remarkable then it follows that it must have been typical of the suffragan sees throughout the Maeander region. Indeed it also follows that if such a relatively obscure see as Sebaste was prosperous then others such as Philadelphia, Hypaipa or Tralles are likely to have been a great deal more so.

Some evidence does survive elsewhere in the region to confirm this picture of the suffragan sees. At Notion, a suffragan bishopric of Ephesos, on the Aegean coast eight kilometres north of the mouth of the Cayster, an ornately decorated architrave was discovered in 1904 bearing an inscription which records this as the work of the local bishop and a date 959/60.[129] Another episcopal inscription was found in 1908 at Maionia, a suffragan bishopric of Sardis 16 kilometres north of the Hermos. The inscription is a verse dedication next to a bust of Christ which is one of five relief figures cut on to an oblong plaque of white marble, and names the local bishop as

130. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise
88-9.
131. IDEM, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 75.
132. e.g. see supra
133. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum', PG XCIX, 289-92.
134. PAUL OF LATROS 123.
135. MM IV, 312.
136. LAZAROS 582.
137. ibid. 585.

Nicholas. Another fragment of the same decorative scheme found near by bears the date 1057/8.[130] A third inscription of the 10th or 11th century was found at Hypaipa and credits similar work to the local bishop Andrew.[131] A great deal more architectural sculpture has been discovered in the Maeander region and the fact that three of the very rare inscribed pieces were dedicated by the local suffragan bishop points to an active period of church building which was at least partly paid for by the bishops.[132]

Elsewhere in the region there is evidence for both suffragan bishops and their clergy and officials playing a prominent role in local society. In the 820s the see of Mastaura was divided over the issue of iconoclasm and the Life of St. Theodore the studite describes a 'certain noble cleric' leading the opposition within the diocesan clergy to an iconoclast bishop.[133] In the 10th century the bishop and clergy of Amyzon, a minor suffragan of Stauropolis, appear in the Life of St. Paul of Latros sending victuals to the saint.[134] Later in the century Ignatios, the bishop of Herakleia, another minor see in the province of Caria, was responsible for witnessing the accord of 987 between the two Latros monasteries of St. Paul and Lamponion.[135] In the mid 11th century the Life of St. Lazaros mentions an oikonomos of the bishop of Bathy on Samos, who was a certain Niketas,[136] and the oikonomos of the metropolis of Ephesos who was the suffragan bishop of Tralles.[137] In the latter case provincial practice was clearly following that of the

138. J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les offikia 35-9.
139. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise 87; see J. DARROUZES, op.cit. 39.
140. EP II, nr. 50, 20; nr. 53, 73; nr. 67, 177; see also N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xerochoraphion' 37-8; G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Syntagma V, 48-9: the synod sells a certain Demetrios, guilty of murder, as a slave to the bishop of Preine, December 1058.
141. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, 'Histoire d'un évêché byzantin: Hiérissos en Chalcidique', TM VIII (1981) 373-96.

patriarchal hierarchy where the same post was sometimes filled by a senior metropolitan.[138] A few years later a koubouklarios and deacon of the see of Maionia is mentioned on an inscription found in 1908 and described above.[139] In Patmos archive several documents from the late 11th to the late 13th century include suffragan bishops, or more often their officials, as witnesses, and on occasion the act itself was drawn up by an episcopal notary.[140]

The only detailed picture of the activities of a middle Byzantine suffragan bishop comes from the see of Hierissos, a suffragan of Thessalonika, lying just to the north of mount Athos on the eastern side of the Chalkidike peninsula. The proximity of the see to the holy mountain led to the preservation of a large body of evidence in the monasteries' archives. At Hierissos in the 10th and 11th century the bishop was a substantial local land-owner, and an influential figure at the local level. The cathedral clergy and the episcopal officials were prominent members of the community both in the kastron where the cathedral lay and in the diocese as a whole.[141] Insufficient evidence has survived for any individual suffragan see in the Maeander region to produce a picture of comparable detail to that of Hierissos, but the scattered evidence for the Maeander bishoprics' wealth land-owning and church-building, and the activities of their clergy and officials strongly suggests that their role was not very different from that of Hierissos.

142. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, Ep. 18, 191-3.

143. See J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine provincial government', 26 -6.

The Life of St. Luke also sheds light on the background and recruitment of suffragan bishops. In 1092 or 3 Theophylact of Ochrid wrote, in defence of his suffragan bishops to the doux of Skopje, that some had reached their office through service in the cathedral church where they had given proof of their ability, while others had come from an education in Constantinople.[142] St. Luke, a middle aged, retired soldier of pious inclinations from a prosperous land-owning family who owned property outside the diocese, appears at first sight to be rather different from Theophylact's description, but in practice St. Luke was probably rather typical of suffragan bishops throughout the Empire.

As a moderately wealthy and influential position in local society, a suffragan bishopric was not open to the poor, who in any case would not have been able to pay the necessary entrance fine. To obtain a bishopric demanded some wealth and that in effect limited aspirants to the local landed families.

One group amongst these families were the ecclesiastical officials and cathedral clergy, above all of the metropolitan see. Although the evidence from Athens does not help here,[143] Theophylact's claim that several suffragan bishops came from this background is likely to hold true for many provinces including the Maeander region. They had not only the wealth and status to aspire to a suffragan see, but also useful experience in the organization and management of a church and diocese. Otherwise in the same way that the local gentry became monks and abbots of

144. See infra 491f.; a number of bishops were monks but this merely reflects the dominant role of prosperous local families in monastic life: V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, nr. 267, 187-8; nr. 227, 194; nr. 279, 195-6; nr. 373, 267; nr. 521, 383; nr. 535, 396; PETER OF ATROA 137; IDEM, La Vita Retracta 153-7; J. GOUILLARD, 'Une oeuvre inédite du patriarche Méthode. La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes', 37-8.
145. e.g. PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 75, 107.
146. NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS, Ep. 34, 246; Ep. 35, 248-50; Ep. 58, 300; Ep. 73-4, 320-22; Ep. 92, 354-6; Ep. 108, 329; Ep. 123, 414-5; Ep. 164, 488-90; Ep. 165, 490; Ep. 183, 514-6.
147. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, Ep. 17, 187-9; Ep. 22, 203; Ep. 26, 215-7; Ep. 45, 281-7; Ep. 85, 447; Ep. 90, 469.
148. KEKAUMENOS 51.
149. NICETAS STETHATOS, Opuscles et lettres ed. J. Darrouzés, Paris (1961) 29-30, 338-44; see also SYMEON LE NOUVEAU THEOLOGIEN, Traité théologiques et éthiques ed. J. Darrouzés, II, Paris (1967) 118, 358.
150. C. WALTER, Art and Ritual in the Byzantine Church London (1982) passim; see also P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century' in The Byzantine Saint 51-66: an apparent decline in the popularity and status of holymen seems to be linked to a more self-confident secular hierarchy - in the west bishops had frequently viewed independent holymen with suspicion, e.g. GREGORY OF TOURS, Decem Libri Historiarum VIII, 15-16.

monasteries,[144] so they became priests and bishops. Some went to Constantinople, possibly investing in an education in the hope of higher things,[145] but in the end the numerous bishoprics had to be filled by those of suitable status and fortune. A metropolitan see might attract candidates from all over the Empire; a suffragan bishopric would usually only be of interest to local families. St. Luke may not have been typical as a retired soldier, but as a reasonably pious figure of the right social standing, he almost certainly was.

As with the towns of the Maeander region, the evidence for the secular church is not extensive but it does show the metropolitans and their suffragans playing a more important role than may appear at first sight. In the Empire as a whole the status of the clergy seems to have come a step behind the laity. The letters of the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos at the beginning of the 10th century[146] and those of Theophylact of Ochrid at the end of the 11th,[147] both complain of the way the church was bullied and exploited by Imperial officials, but over the intervening period there does seem to have been a rise in the status of the secular church. The evidence is to be found in writers as diverse as Kekaumenos[148] and Niketas Stethatos,[149] and also in the changing iconography of church decoration.[150] The bishop in particular seems to have been regaining his position as a focus of local society.

By the later 11th century the secular church in the

151. ATTALEIATES 303.

152. J.-B. MANSI, XI, 944, 965.

153. ANNA COMNENA I, 54; see also D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 42-6.

154. See J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine provincial government' 266, 282-4.

Maeander region certainly had some of the status and organisation to provide leadership to a society abandoned by its Constantinopolitan rulers in the face of barbarian invasion. The possibility of this happening in fact however was rather remote. In the immediate context of the late 1070s and 1080s the authority of the church in the Maeander was undermined by the appointment of the deposed Emperor Michael VII to be metropolitan of Ephesos.[151] This was done as a convenient means whereby Nikephoros Botaneiates could marry Michael's wife, Maria of Alania - a man who became a priest could remain married; a bishop had to leave his wife.[152] Michael was hardly even a figure head, and never came near the region,[153] yet even if the senior metropolis had been in more capable hands, the secular church is very unlikely to have played a much more active role. It had no experience of such a crisis, lacked armed forces and possibly most serious, was led by metropolitans who by background, education and practical experience expected leadership to come from Constantinople. It would require repeated experience of the failure of lay government before this attitude would change.[154]

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Local Elite: a conclusion.

In part two I examined the survival of important settlements on Roman city sites through the Byzantine period up to the Turkish invasions. I considered their role as strong points in the defence of the Maeander region against the Arabs and looked at the evidence for their inhabitants playing an active part in local society, and suggested that they formed an important section of the resident local elite.

In part three I have so far concentrated on what in effect has been a survey of who were not that local elite - using the term to define those persons and families, generally resident in the Maeander region, who dominated local and regional society and politics. Neither the judges nor the strategoi nor even the great political families can, as we have seen, justly be so described. Both the former were only in the Maeander region for a short period before moving on to either another theme or a post in Constantinople; the latter had a more permanent interest in the region, but it was one which appears not to have touched their political lives. No Byzantine aristocrat seems to have used the estates he owned in the Maeander region as the basis of provincial power he could exercise in the world of Imperial politics in Constantinople. Such men owned land in the Maeander because they enjoyed considerable wealth from court salaries. Estates in western Asia Minor were a convenient investment in a

1. See supra 401 f.
2. See supra, chapter eight and nine, passim.

society which did not offer many such uses for large capital sums. Land there provided an income, and where it was accessible by sea, or otherwise within convenient distance of Constantinople, it was a source of agricultural produce. In other societies we are used to the idea of the absentee landlord, I suggest it should also be applied to the Maeander region in the middle Byzantine period.

Turning from who was not part of the resident local elite to who was, the essential source giving a general picture of local society is again the Lives of the saints,[1] and in particular that of St. Lazaros of mount Galesion. Other Lives, such as those of St. Paul of Latros, St. Nikephoros of Miletos and St. Luke the stylite are much shorter and do not contain the same detailed descriptions of individual monks and patrons.

The important figures in all these Lives, with high court titles and senior offices, known in some cases from other sources, have been discussed already.[2] They were all outsiders to the region: temporary visitors from the great political world in Constantinople, whose association with the saint redounded to the latter's credit. The others who appear in these Lives are, with a few exceptions, a remarkably humble group.

The social and economic level of the majority of visitors and monks on Galesion can be illustrated by the example of Constantine Phlaskes, a flute-player who was persuaded by St.

3. LAZAROS 545.
4. ibid. 524, 525, 529, 531-4, 537-9, 540-41, 545-6, 550, 552.
5. ibid. 536, 577.
6. ibid. 536, 555, 557.

Lazaros to give up this apparently reprehensible employment; he turned to work with his hands and so made himself rich.[3] Gregory the kellarites, the author of the Life, describes a world of flute-players, painters, ships-captains and small land-owners.[4] All people who by comparison with Constantinopolitan office holders could justly be described as poor.

Yet it is important to make a distinction between this group and the real 'poor' of the Maeander region. The Life of St. Lazaros reveals a society with a very clear sense of hierarchy. The monks looked up to a superior group of Constantinopolitan aristocrats, generals, judges and famous families, whose visits to the saint were a cause of pride and awe.[5] their familiarity with the earthly Emperor in the Imperial court in Constantinople could only be compared to the parousia which a holyman enjoyed in the court of heaven.[6] Equally however the monks looked down on an inferior peasantry whom the monks treated with striking contempt.

With a few exceptions, such as the shepherd who wondered at St. Lazaros' ability to endure the extremes of winter and summer on his column, the poor only appear in the Life as an ignorant and undifferentiated mass. Gregory treats them as an opportunity to illustrate Lazaros' sanctity by describing how, in spite of the monks objections, he was willing to talk to the peasants, listen to their problems and solve their disputes. The monks were not all happy that their holy father should waste his time

7. ibid. 544, 551, 556-7, 579-80.
8. ibid. 560, 563.
9. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-8, 211.
10. PAUL OF LATROS 106, 111, 135.

on these people, especially as they were too ignorant to discuss spiritual matters but would rather tell the saint of their mundane village concerns.[7] On one occasion an illiterate and poor man wished to join the community on Galesion where he was received with hostility by the other monks. St. Lazaros' willingness to have such a man in the monastery was evidence of his sanctity; the poor man's learning of letters was later to be proof of how right Lazaros had been to admit him into the monastery, indicating that he had raised himself above his background.[8] St. Lazaros' patience with the poor was an attribute of his being a saint, but was no more typical of his society than any of his other ascetic activities. Most people of his background did not consider them worthy of interest.

The same attitude is present in other Lives, although not so fully expressed. In the 920s St. Luke's sanctity was demonstrated by his concern to give the family's grain reserves to the starving peasantry of the Baklan ovası, and also by the short period he abased himself to their level anonymously tending pigs near Kütahya.[9] St. Paul of Latros spent a similar period tending pigs in Phrygia and this was clearly regarded by the hagiographer as among the lowest depths to which a man could fall. Later in his career some villagers brought food to the monastery of the Stylos, and on another occasion some villagers were freed by St. Paul in a posthumous miracle when they were being taken prisoner to the theme judge.[10] Otherwise St. Paul's clientele were always of a moderately prosperous and prominent background.

11. See P. LEMERLE, 'Roga et rente d'état', 77-100.
12. See N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques' 50-56.
13. See M. KAPLAN, 'L'économie paysanne' 198-232.
14. LAZAROS 552, 557, 571, 575-6.
15. ibid. 566.
16. ibid. 536.
17. ibid. 549, 557, 566.
18. ibid. 551, 556-7.
19. ibid. 509.

The economic basis of this hierarchy is clear enough. The salaries of senior officials placed their beneficiaries far above the monks on the one hand,[11] while peasant incomes, estimated at between 15 and 24 nomismata per annum, were barely sufficient to pay tax, rent and to survive.[12] Many Byzantine peasants appear to have been in a poverty trap that kept them near destitute.[13] Compared with this the position of the Galesion monks was quite comfortable. St. Lazaros was much troubled by the private property of monks, especially at Bessai away from his supervision.[14] Several incidents in the Life are there to warn monks of the evils of private possessions. A monk who died with a nomisma hidden on his person went straight to hell.[15] A monk who used some money he found to buy a psalter in Ephesos was sternly corrected by St. Lazaros.[16] Monks who kept icons in their cells equally suffered the saint's disapproval.[17] None of this would have arisen if the monks had been as poor as the peasantry; nor would the monastery have slowly amassed quite extensive estates in the vicinity of mount Galesion.[18]

Nonetheless among the monks and visitors to Galesion there were some who stood out as relatively wealthy and prominent figures in local society. The most obvious example is the family of St. Lazaros himself. The saint was born in the late 10th century near Magnesia on the Maeander. He was baptized Leo, and the Life describes his parents as 'not wealthy' but of 'independent means'. [19] There is no suggestion that they had any official post, but the Life reveals them as prosperous and

20. ibid. 509-10.
21. ibid. 510: the monastery of Kalothan is otherwise unknown.
22. ibid. 510, 518; EP II, nr. 50, 5-6, 14, 17-18.
23. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 877.
24. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/2, nr. 1275, 193-4.
25. See for example, PAUL OF LATROS 130-35; PETER OF ATROA, La
vita retracta 135-71.

prominent local figures, whose influence was based on the successful monastic careers followed by several of their number.

From the first, Lazaros - to refer to him by his familiar religious name - was destined to follow his relatives in an ecclesiastical career. At the age of six his parents, encouraged by his uncle Elios, sent him to the monk Leontios to start his education. From then until the age of 18 when he ran away to Palestine, Lazaros was brought up at various monasteries under the charge of a succession of monastic notarioi.[20]

Of his relatives, one uncle, already mentioned, was a monk at the monastery of Kalothon;[21] another on his mother's side was abbot of the important monastery of Orobos which lay near Magnesia on the Maeander where it owned several estates adjoining those of Barys on the north side of the Maeander valley.[22] The monastery was most famous for its saintly abbot Theodosios, whose feast day is commemorated in the Sirmond synaxarium of c.1000.[23] St. Theodosios appeared on the monastery's seals[24] and the body may well have been buried there making Orobos a focus of local devotion.[25] It is even possible that Lazaros was related to St. Theodosios. The abbacy of Byzantine monasteries commonly remained in the same family for several generations. Lazaros' maternal uncle was abbot in the early 11th century; St. Theodosios could have been abbot within the previous 50 years. The saint is otherwise unknown and short entries of this type describing the saintly abbot of a provincial monastery

26. See Synaxarium 125-6, 312, 562.
27. LAZAROS 565.
28. ibid. 558.
29. ibid. 519-20.
30. ibid. 519-20, 525, 533-4; for Bessai, see E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse', 243-51.
31. See P. LEMERLE, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères à byzance' 9-28.

usually date in the Sirmond synaxarium to the 9th or 10th century.[26] Lazaros himself was known to quote the Life of St. Theodosios as evidence of good ascetic practice.[27] A saintly pedigree would help to explain how Lazaros was excepted in local society as a wonder-working holy man.

Other members of the family shared in this successful monastic background. Lazaros' mother, Eirene, became a nun under the name Eupraxia and founded a monastery.[28] She left her younger son, Ignatios, in the charge of a woman called Judith who was presumably a relation. Judith, who apparently came from Calabria, was in turn patron of Lazaros' first community of St. Marina where she paid for the building of the church.[29] Ignatios followed the sort of career that was originally intended for Lazaros. He first took charge of the Imperial foundation of Bessai, numbering over 300 monks and endowed by Constantine IX and Maria Skleraina, and eventually succeeded Lazaros as abbot of Galesion, thus keeping the profits of Lazaros' sanctity within the family.[30]

Behind the hagiography of St. Lazaros is the story of how a moderately prosperous local landed family turned to good account the acknowledged sanctity of one of its sons. Several studies have shown how a family could keep an interest in estates that it had given to a monastery.[31] The details are obscure but in the late 10th century Lazaros' family appears to have had an interest in the monastery of Orobos. Lazaros was intended to safeguard

32. LAZAROS 533-4.
33. See supra 417-19.
34. LAZAROS 537-8.
35. ibid. 541: The Life does not make it quite clear who or what Theodore Sagopoulos was, or where he came from. The name implies a seller of cloaks, and in the case of Philippos tis sagopōlēs who appears in the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos (NIKEPHOROS 160), the reference is certainly to his trade. Kyr Theodore Sagopoulos, however, is not a cloak seller, and another 11th century Sagopoulos is known from a seal to have been protospatharios and mystographos, V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 146, 68. The two are no necessarily related, but Theodore is not definitely a local man.

this interest as a senior monk or abbot. His uncle made every effort to educate him for the post and to prevent him running away. When he returned 20 years later, however, they took full advantage of his new status. The core of the Galesion endowment seems to have been family property,[32] and by the time Lazaros died in 1053, Ignatios' abbacy ensured that their interest confined not only in the Galesion estates, but in those at Bessai and presumably those linked to Eupraxia's foundation too. The struggle of the Galesion community to survive after Lazaros' death, which has been touched on above,[33] had a number of aspects, some of them dourly secular.

The success of the community on Galesion was not dependent on one family alone, however well placed they may have been to exploit it. Among the other local 'notables' was a ships-captain who could afford to build a funerary chapel for himself,[34] and possibly a certain Theodore Sagapoulos who sent a boy to buy fish in Ephesos for the saint, and who the monks held in sufficient respect to call kyr. [35]

Otherwise the most important local benefactors were probably the Mita family. John Mita was a regular visitor to Galesion who first held the office of dioiketes of Ephesos and then later became episkeptites of the Imperial estates of the Myrelaion. His uncle, Eustathios Mita, lived nearby but was prevented by gout from visiting the father on his column. In spite of this he gave generously to the monks and St. Lazaros

36. LAZAROS 539-40.
37. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4, 151.
38. See H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 42 n. 3.
39. LAZAROS 582.
40. EP II, nr. 50, 8, 14, 20.

prayed for his soul. Another relation, Himerios, who was linked to the Mita family by marriage, himself became a monk on mount Galesion.[36]

John Mita is the only relative high ranking local official who appears in the Life, apart from judges and strategoi. The Life of St. Paul of Latros mentions no one of this status, and the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos only the anonymous agents of the Myrelaion who ransacked the archiepiscopal estates during the vacancy before the saint arrived, and the equally anonymous archontes who came with Ampelas to the Xerochoraphion in the later 10th century.[37] Other lay officials are all of a rather low rank, such as notarioi or a former taxeotes - a general agent on the staff of a strategos or judge[38] - who became a monk on Galesion only to betray the attempt to have the monastery taken under Imperial protection to the metropolitan.[39] Outside saints' Lives the only other evidence for particular lay officials in the region is in the praktikon of Andronikos Doukas drawn up in 1073 which mentions a protokourator and a kourator. [40]

Yet from seals and such Constantinopolitan sources as the taktika it is clear that there was an important body of provincial officials who would have been found in the Maeander region as elsewhere. The status, background and recruitment of these officials is not yet clear but their existence is beyond doubt. In addition to the personal staff of the strategos or

41. H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 44; F. DÖLGER, Beitrage 70-71; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 313; J. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System 89.
42. H. AHRWEILER, op.cit. 44; F. DÖLGER, op.cit. 79-80; N. OIKONOMIDES, op.cit. 313; J. BURY, op.cit. 87.
43. F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang und Ämterstruktur 119-20.
44. F. DÖLGER, Beitrage 151-2; N. SVORONOS, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin' 61-2; J. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System 103; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 312, 318.
45. J. BURY, op.cit. 102; N. OIKONOMIDES, op.cit. 318.
46. See H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance Paris (1963) passim; J. BURY, op.cit. 88.
47. F. DÖLGER, Beitrage 69; H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 43; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 313; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang und Ämterstruktur 131-3.
48. H. AHRWEILER, op.cit. 37, 43, 71; F. WINKELMANN, op.cit. 129-30.
49. N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 341; see also F. WINKELMANN, op.cit. 106.
50. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 226-7.
51. Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae ed. J. Noret, 5-6, 10, 130-31.
52. G. WEISS, Oströmische beamte 21-2.
53. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Aristocratic oikos' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 96-8; KEKAUMENOS 5; H.-G. BECK, 'Byzantinische Gefolgschaftswesen' 1-32.

judge, and the military personnel of the theme army, provincial officials included dioiketai,[41] epoptai[42] and possibly anagraphes[43] who organized and collected taxation; episkeptitai[44] and kouratores[45] who managed the Imperial estates; kommerkiarioi[46] who collected customs; theme chartoularioi[47] who drew up the military registers; protonotarioi[48] who seem to have been in charge of the civil administration under the strategos; and a protokankellarios and various notarioi who formed the strategos' administrative staff.[49]

Some of the more senior of these officials may only have been in the theme on a temporary appointment in the same way as judges and strategoi. Certainly some of the personal staff of a strategos or judge did come from outside. The future Basil I, for example, accompanied Theophilos, a high ranking official sent to the Peloponnese in the mid-9th century;[50] in the 10th century, Abraamios, the future St. Athanasios of the Lavra, went with the strategos Zephinezer to his new posting in the Aegean;[51] Michael Psellos accompanied a judge to Macedonia and Mesopotamia.[52] Most important Byzantines seem to have included a number of attendant young men in their households, who would gain practical experience of administration or military command by accompanying their masters on provincial appointments.[53]

Many of these posts however must have been filled by local men such as John Mita. Ranging from senior tax collectors to the

54. See PETER OF ATROA 177-9.
55. LAZAROS 543-4.
56. 'Vie de S. luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 199-202, 204-5.
57. ibid. 206-9.

kouratores of private estates,[54] such men as these with some limited access to official power, a small Imperial salary and a percentage of the revenues they collected, in addition to any land they owned, must, like John Mita, have been comparatively important and influential figures in local society.

Another prominent local figure seems to have been the topoteretes who visited Galesion, but offended St. Lazaros by talking only of bloodshed and battles. The monks were alarmed that the holy father's consequent refusal to speak to him would alienate a generous benefactor, but in due course the soldier learnt to talk about matters of the spirit and the two were reconciled.[55]

Soldiers seem to have played an important part in local society. St. Luke, for example, was the son of a prosperous family in the Baklan ovası who had a hereditary duty to serve in the theme army of the Anatolikoi, with whom he campaigned in Bulgaria.[56] The family's wealth has been noted already. St. Luke's father had 100 nomismata available to pay for his son to become bishop of Sebaste, and the family's granaries had contained even during the famine years of 927-8 4,000 modioi of grain which implies the ownership of extensive estates.[57].

St. Paul of Latros was also the son of a soldier. His father had been an officer in the fleet, but was fatally wounded in battle against the Cretan Arabs. His mother moved to Phrygia

58. PAUL OF LATROS 105-6.
59. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 222-6; M.-H. FOURMY, M. LEROY, 'La vie de S. Philarète', B IX (1934) 125; J. DARROUZES, Les epistoliers 101-2, 130-31.
60. See R. MORRIS, 'The powerful and the poor', 25-6.
61. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 217.
62. C.f. J. F. HALDON, Recruitment and conscription in Byzantine army c. 550-950 Vienna (1979) 44.
63. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 223.
64. See G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Löhne und Preise in Byzanz', BZ XXXII (1932) 312-17.

and then died shortly afterwards, leaving St. Paul a destitute orphan.[58]

The majority of soldiers resident in the Maeander region are likely to have been members of the theme army of either the Thrakesion or the Anatolikon. Poor theme cavalrymen certainly did exist and in the mid-10th century Imperial legislation was necessary to protect their interests.[59] However, even in the minds of Imperial official drafting laws they were clearly no more than a borderline case.[60] To set beside the legislation to protect the soldiers, are other attempts to protect the weak from them. In the prostaxis of 949 the stratiotai are specifically mentioned among the dunatoi. [61] For as many as could not afford to fulfil their responsibilities, there were clearly many others, like the family of St. Luke, who were buying up new lands and obtaining episcopal sees for their children. The evidence strongly suggests that the latter were in a large majority.[62]

According to Constantine VII's novel, Peri ton stratioton, issued in the mid-10th century, the minimum value of a theme soldier's lands was to be set at 4 pounds of gold.[63] such a sum, equivalent to 288 nomismata, would buy about 576 modioi of land.[64] If such an estate were used for arable then only half would have been cultivated each year, the rest lying fallow. Byzantine cereal crops seem to have produced about 3.5 times the original seed. The annual crop on a 576 modioi estate would

65. See N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques' 52-57; M. KAPLAN, 'L'économie paysanne dans l'empire byzantin du Vème au Xème siècle' 198-232: I am aware that this is a crude approach and I hope to refine the model by comparison with such anthropological studies as the Methena survey, H. A. FORBES, Strategies and Soils: technology, production and environment in the peninsula of Methena, Greece Michigan (1982); see also L. FAXHALL, 'Greece, ancient and modern: subsistence and survival' History Today XXXVI, July (1986) 35-43; for the moment however the present figures offer at least a broad scale of comparative values.
66. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 255-6.
67. See P. LEMERLE, The Agrarian History of Byzantium 128-31.

therefore have been about 1008 modioi. From this crop 288 modioi had to be set aside as seed for the next year, leaving 720 modioi, worth at a market price of 12 modioi to the nomismata, 60 nomismata. From this about 6 nomismata should be deducted for tax, leaving 54 nomismata which also had to cover the cost of cultivation. Theme soldiers were not peasant farmers. The animal surplus from such an estate was therefore probably only in the region of 30 nomismata, but even that compares quite well with a typical peasant surplus of between 2 and 10 nomismata. It also does not include payments and booty in time of war.[65]

However Constantine's figure of land worth 4 pounds does not represent the typical theme soldier, but rather a critical level below which it would have been impossible to have provided the necessary arms, equipment and horses, and to support someone to cultivate the land. Indeed the novel was so far removed from the reality of theme soldiers and their place in local landed society that within ten years another novel was issued by Nikephoros II Phokas to remedy the confusion.[66]

Constantine's novel had given the theme soldiers the right to recover any land registered for military service that they might have sold without repaying the purchase price. The consequence was that nobody would buy a soldier's land, however much he held in excess of the legal minimum, for fear of losing both land and money.[67]

68. See J. F. HALDON, 'Some aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth centuries', BMGS I (1975) 34
69. For the tactical and strategic developments which lay behind this novel, see J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 238-88.

Nikephoros Phokas ruled that as regards past transactions the soldier had only to retain land worth 4 pounds. Land sold which took him below that level was to be recovered without cost under the terms of Constantine VII's novel; lands over the 4 pound limit could be recovered by preferential right but only by payment of a just price. For the future, Nikephoros ruled the minimum value of lands would be raised to 12 pounds, it seems to cover the increased cost of heavily armoured cavalry,[68] and free recovery would come into force under that amount.

The implications of Nikephoros' novel are quite clear: most theme soldiers had lands worth far more than 12 pounds of gold. It would otherwise have been nonsense to make the sale of soldiers' lands possible if in fact they had mostly owned property valued at around the 4 pound mark and the Emperor wished to raise their holdings to a value above 12 pounds. The novel is instead admitting that most soldiers owned far more land than the legal minimum, and the Emperor wanted to turn some of this surplus to improving the armament of his cavalry.[69]

Following the same lines as for an estate worth 4 pounds, an estate of 12 pounds would have produced an annual income of about 170 nomismata. This is not a very large sum in comparison to the incomes of senior Imperial officials but it is quite considerable when compared to a typical peasant income.

The theme army of the Thrakesion has been estimated on the

70. ibid. 100-104, 133-40.
71. See supra 6-10, 193-244.
72. See W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth centuries 12-31; M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy 181-3.
73. See supra chapter eleven, *passim*.

basis of apparently reliable Arab figures as about 15,000 men, of whom about 3,000 were cavalry.[70] The lower Maeander formed about two-thirds of the Thrakesion, but included nearly all the most productive and populous parts of the theme. The upper Maeander formed about one-fifth of the Anatolikon, but again it was an important and comparatively fertile area, well protected against attacks from the east, and hence likely to have a relatively high population.[71] An estimate of 3,000 military estates in the Maeander region is probably close to the true figure.

Of these, the majority would have been worth well over 12 pounds; a minority nearer the 4 pound mark. In addition this does not take into account pay, booty, moveable goods and the salaries of a number of officers.[72] Whether or not the holders of these estates were still active soldiers in the second half of the 11th century is unimportant in this context; they were an important section of land-owning society in the Maeander region.

A final group who appear in the Life of St. Lazaros as important members of local society is the secular church. They have been discussed in the previous chapter but it is worth underlining the role that they played.[73] Not only the metropolitans and suffragan bishops, but many of the episcopal clergy and ecclesiastical officials ranked as influential local figures. Even a metropolitan who spent much of his time in Constantinople and who despised the barabrities of his provincial

74. LAZAROS 520, 526.
75. PSELLOS, SM II, ep. 75, 107.
76. A. MICHEL, 'Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios', BZ
CLI (1941) 451-2.

flock was inevitably involved in local politics. His status and income depended on defending the interests of his see. This could partly be achieved in Constantinople but it also demanded action in the province. Even the metropolitan of Ephesos, the second ranking province in the eastern church was not above watching over the activities of a new stylite such as Lazaros.[74]

Such involvement in local politics would apply even more to the suffragan bishops and ecclesiastical officials some might have high ranking contracts in Constantinople to whom they sent such presents as salt-fish and cheese to remind them of their distant and comparatively humble friends;[75] but even when they appealed to Constantinople, such men as the two priests of Tranoupolis in the upper Maeander were concerned with local affairs rather than with making a name for themselves in the capital.[76]

The clergy were almost bound to be prominent local figures. The church was a focus of daily life where people married, heard mass and were buried. To build or decorate a church, buy an icon or pay for a priest were common acts natural to Byzantine society. As an institution the church was a major land-owner and its clergy and officials benefitted as the permanent administrators of this wealth. The church also performed a judicial function. The bishop was appealed to as a judge, or a witness to a concord, and the clergy in general could play a

77. See supra 446 - 76.

secondary part in the same role.[77]

Such people as these, local officials, soldiers, small land-owners, abbots, suffragan bishops, ecclesiastical officials and episcopal clergy, even in some contexts the metropolitan himself, made up the local elite of the Maeander region - those who were resident in the region and dominated at a local level its social and political life.

Considerably more could be said about them, and this chapter amounts to no more than an introductory survey pointing the way for future research; but a number of basic points should be made which may stand as conclusions to what has been said in previous chapters.

Firstly, the Lives do not describe any local figures who dominated society in a manner which justifies the description of a provincial aristocracy. Power seems to have been fragmented among a great number of individuals. Some of them, such as suffragan bishops or senior officials were influential in particular contexts but no one seems to have been able to unite the region from within. As a result this was a society unlikely to rebel against Constantinople unless provided with outside leadership. When it was deserted by its Constantinopolitan leaders, such as Nikephoros Melissenos in 1080, the Maeander region was equally unable to unite in self defence. The 'feudalization' of Byzantine society and the consequent dispersal

78. See C. MANGO, Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome 50-58.
79. ATTALEIATES 140-41.

of central authority are often held to be features of the 10th and 11th century which led to the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks.[78] The study of the Maeander region would suggest that on the contrary it was the lack of a developed provincial aristocracy which made Byzantine Asia Minor and its culture so vulnerable to conquest and collapse.

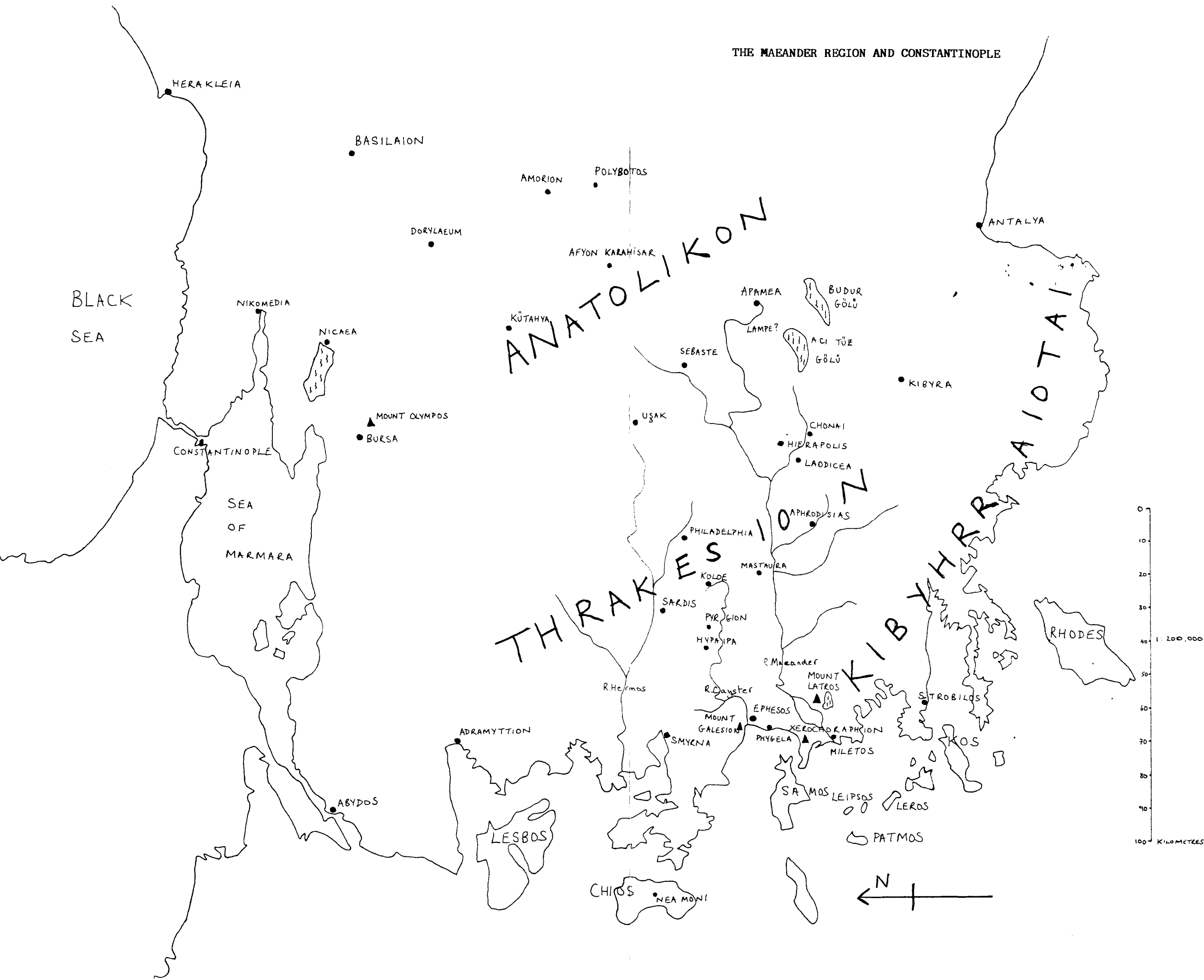
Secondly the Lives show an awed respect for Constantinople and those sent from there, but there is very little evidence for an effective political structure which would bind together the interests of central government in Constantinople and the inhabitants of the Maeander region. A major link was of course the orthodox faith. Central government - which in this case means the Emperor and those who would help to decide Imperial policy, and pay and lead the armies to carry it out - was shocked by the sack of Chonai,[79] and presumably also by the loss of Ephesos, but otherwise its vital interests were not immediately involved in either the loss or reconquest of the Maeander region. Again the lack of a powerful aristocracy to cajole the Imperial government into action was probably fatal for the long term prospects of Byzantine Asia Minor.

The other side to this same point is that the interests of the inhabitants of the Maeander region were not necessarily closely linked to Constantinople when it was abandoned by the Imperial government for 17 years, there was little to preserve the region's loyalty to the Emperor and the God-guarded city. The

accounts given by Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates of the Imperial reconquest are marked by the hostile or at least neutral attitude of the population at large.[80] Few seem to have gone as far as the inhabitants of the islands in Bey şehir gölü, outside the Maeander region to the east, who defied the Emperor II so that it needed costly military operations to teach them the value of Imperial rule,[81] but many seem to have been lukewarm at the return of Byzantine armies. In retrospect rule from Constantinople can have seemed little more than a matter of paying large taxes.

Finally, although the Maeander region could not keep out the Turks, it was neither powerless nor moribund; it was merely that power was so fragmented and isolated that it was ineffective in the face of such a crisis. The sources are vague - they took the structures of local society for granted - but it is striking that wherever names and locations are given, they are those of the ancient walled city sites which had formed the central places of the region over a thousand years before. Still in the 11th century the ancient city sites appear to have been the centres of economic, social and political life in the Maeander region.

THE MAEANDER REGION AND CONSTANTINOPLE



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